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# EXPLANATORY INDEX

TO THE

MAP OF ANCIENT ROME;

BY THE

REV. W. G. COOKESLEY, M. A.

ASSISTANT MASTER AT ETON COLLEGE.

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*Second Edition.*

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## P R E F A C E.

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My object in publishing the "Map of Ancient Rome" is, to enable students to construct a Map for themselves ; and my object in compiling this "Explanatory Index" is, not so much to write an account of the city, as to assist others in doing so. I shall not quote the passages to which I refer, out of Livy, or any poet whose works are printed in the "Corpus Poetarum Latinorum," because it is important that the student should verify these passages himself. Nor shall I translate any Greek or Latin passages which I quote, because the translation of them should form part of the student's work.

It is only within a few years that the topography of Ancient Rome can be said to have been settled with any degree of accuracy. Perhaps it would be more correct to say, that it is only within the last few years that those principles have been recognized, and practically applied, on which alone the study can be success-

fully prosecuted. The Italian antiquaries composed voluminous and massy works on this subject ; but they were deficient in a critical and enlarged knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages ; and were therefore unable to turn to the best advantage those aids which are absolutely necessary, if we hope to dig Ancient Rome out of her venerable ruins, and to form a true idea of what she must have been in the beauty and majesty of her youth. But the learning and genius of Germany have latterly been most successfully employed in the attempt to recover the plan of Ancient Rome ; and the critical labours of Niebuhr, Bunsen, and Becker, have settled much that was previously doubtful, and have explained much that had been previously confused by ignorance or error.

In the description of the Gates and Walls, I have taken for my principal guide Becker's book "*De Romæ Veteris Muris atque Portis*," (*Leipsic*, 1842).

In the account of the Forum Romanum, I have followed Bunsen, who has determined the true position of the buildings with such learning and sagacity, as renders it highly improbable that his conclusions will ever be disturbed.

I have availed myself largely of the aid of Mr. Bunbury's masterly papers on the "Topography of Rome," published in the "*Classical Museum*."

The "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom," published in 1829, by MM. Bunsen, Platner, and Gerhard, effected a complete revolution in Roman topography. This must now be regarded as the standard book on the subject; but the student must be careful *to take nothing on authority.*

Topography deals with *facts*; and the truth of doubtful facts must be established by patient and laborious sifting of evidence; by the critical examination and comparison of passages of ancient authors; not by a blind adherence to any writer, however deservedly great his general authority may be. The system of excavations, which has now been carried on for some years at Rome, especially in the neighbourhood of the Forum, has furnished invaluable additional aid to the topographers. "It is impossible (says Mr. Bunbury) to look at the "present state of our knowledge, in regard to the Roman "Forum, and the surrounding localities, as compared "with that possessed by the antiquaries of the last "century, without feeling that the shovel of the excavator has done more than all the labours of the "learned."

Rome was divided by Augustus into 14 Regions or Districts, which were afterwards commonly known under the following names :—1. Porta Capena. 2. Cœli-

montana. 3. Isis et Serapis. 4. Templum Pacis. 5. Esquilina. 6. Alta Semita. 7. Via Lata. 8. Forum Romanum. 9. Circus Flaminius. 10. Palatium. 11. Circus Maximus. 12. Piscina Publica. 13. Aventina. 14. Transtiberina.

This subdivision of the city was, no doubt, highly useful, if not absolutely necessary, for its proper municipal government; but the "Regions" do not appear on the accompanying map, where I do not see that they would be of any advantage.

I have made large and constant use of "Burgess' Topography of Rome." Besides the books I have mentioned, the student should acquaint himself with "Three Letters written by M. Bunsen to M. Canina," and printed at Rome in 1835, and 1837: they are entitled "Les Forum de Rome, restaures et expliqués." Becker's "Handbuch der Römischen Alterthumen" is also a very learned and valuable work on the subject.

The map now published wears, I fear, a meagre appearance; but I was anxious to put down only such names as stand on satisfactory authority. I shall be thankful for the suggestions of any scholar, into whose hands my work may fall. There are many streets, buildings, and places of Rome, whose situation, yet unknown, may be determined by future and more exact enquiry.

In several passages of this "Index," I have referred to the "Monumentum Ancyranum." It may be useful to give some short account of this work. Suetonius, in the last chapter of his life of Augustus, says, that the Emperor had written out in a book, "indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in æneis tabulis, quæ ante Mausoleum statuerentur." The "Monumentum Ancyranum" is a copy of this "index rerum." It is to be found in the 2nd. Vol. of Wolf's Suetonius, (*Leipsic*, 1802) and Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, (*London*, 1728.) In 1845 it was published in a separate volume, by Zumpt and Franz, at Berlin : this is the best edition of the work.

I have also referred to the "Anonymus of Einsiedlen." It is a work known only from a MS. preserved in the Library of that Convent, and published for the first time by Mabillon, in his *Vetera Analecta*. "It consists" (says Mr. Bunbury, *Classical Museum*, Vol. III. p. 334) "of two distinct parts; the one, a collection of ancient inscriptions, evidently copied on the spot, and in *topographical* order, so that we may always determine, at least approximately, the place from whence they were derived. Associated with this in the MS., and probably the work of the same author, is an Itinerary, which follows the leading lines of roads or streets through the city, enumerating in succession all

the ancient monuments, as well as churches, that lay on the right or the left of each of them ; ending with a minute description of the walls, towers, gates, &c. The work was certainly composed before the middle of the ninth century : it has been lately reprinted with great care by Haenel, in the *Archiv fur Philologie und Pädagogik*."

I cannot close these few words of preface, without expressing my deep sense of obligation to Mr. Bunbury, the value of whose aid was greatly increased by the kindness with which it was tendered.

ETON COLLEGE,  
Oct. 1850.

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# EXPLANATORY INDEX.

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## THE GATES AND WALLS.

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THE city of Romulus comprised the Palatine Hill only. The hill was nearly square, and the city built on it was called "Roma Quadrata." *Ennius ap. Festum*, p. 258,—"*Et qui se sperat Romæ regnare Quadratæ.*" οὔτε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἱερὸν φυλάττεται πύρ, Ῥωμύλος ἦν ὁ καθιερώσας τῇ θεῷ. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης, ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτέλχισεν, ἐκτός ἐστιν. *Dionys.* II. 65. Tacitus has a famous passage on the subject of the city of Romulus—"Sed initium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a Foro Boario, ubi æreum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi cœptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur. Inde certis spatiis interjecti lapides, per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consii, mox ad Curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum : \* forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatius additum." *Annal.* XII. 24. And Aulus Gellius says—"Antiquissimum pomerium, quod a Romulo institutum est, Palatini montis radicibus terminabatur." XIII. 14. It is remarkable that the fortifications ran at

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\* Orellius reads '*Larunda*;' i. e. the mother of the Lares. This alteration of the common reading is unnecessary and injudicious.

the *foot*, not on the *top*, of the hill; and it is possible that Romulus' walls were an extension of a city, which had already outgrown its original line of circumference. The Ara Maxima of Hercules stood in the Forum Boarium. (*Ovid. Fast.* i. 581. *Propert.* IV. ix. 67.) ὁ δὲ βωμὸς ἐφ' οὗ τὰς δεκάτας ἐπέθυσεν Ἡρακλῆς καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος· ἐστὶ δὲ βοαρίας λεγομένης ἀγορᾶς πλησίον. *Dionys.* i. 40.

The Ara Consi stood near the southern extremity of the Palatine Hill; and the Curiae Veteres probably stood near the spot where the arch of Constantine was subsequently raised. The Sacellum Larum stood near the site of the arch of Titus. "In summa Sacra Via, ubi "aedes Larium est." *Solinus, cap.* i. 23.

The fortifications of Romulus must then have turned round the north eastern corner of the Palatine Hill, and run along its foot, until they reached the Velabrum. At the time when they were built, the Forum was probably a morass.

"The city seems to have had originally three gates, "the number prescribed by those mystic rules of the "Etruscan religion, which so clearly presided over the "first foundation of Rome." (*Bunbury.*) "Urbem tres "portas habentem Romulus reliquit, aut (ut plurimas "tradentibus credamus) quatuor." *Pliny, N. H.* III. v. 9. Pliny's "fourth gate" probably refers to the city, as enlarged after the union with Tatius and the Sabines. "Prudentes disciplinæ aiunt, apud conditores "Etruscarum urbium non putatas justas urbes fuisse, "in quibus non tres portæ essent dedicatæ et votivæ,



"et tot templa, Jovis, Junonis, Minervæ." *Servius, ad Æn.* i. 422. Two of Romulus' gates were called Mugionia and Romanula: there is no authority for the name of the third. The Porta Mugionia was written also Mugionis, or Mucionis, and Mugonia.—"Mugionia "Porta Romæ dicta est a Mugio quodam, qui eidem tu- "endæ præfuit." *Festus, p.* 144.\* Varro derives it "a "mugitu." *Dionysius, ii.* 50, calls it *Μυκωνίδες πύλαι*. It was subsequently called "Vetus Porta Palatii." To this gate the Romans fled in their battle with the Sabines, and here Romulus vowed the temple to Jupiter Stator. (*Livy, i.* 12. *Ovid. Tris.* III. i. 31.) Livy also tells us (ii. 13) that an equestrian statue of Clælia stood "in summa Sacra Via," which Pliny says was opposite to the temple of Jupiter Stator. *N. H.* XXXIV. vi. 13,—"Annius Fetialis equestrem [*sc. statuam*] quæ "fuerit contra Jovis Statoris ædem in vestibulo Superbi "domus, Valeriæ fuisse Publicolæ Consulis filiæ."

The Porta Mugionia stood at the point where the Palatine was most accessible, in consequence of its junction with the Velian ridge. The Porta Romanula stood at the foot of the Clivus Victoriæ. *Festus, p.* 262, calls the gate "Romana." "Porta Romana instituta est "a Romulo infimo clivo Victoriæ, qui locus gradibus in "quadram formatus est. Appellata autem Romana a "Sabinis præcipue quod ea proximus aditus erat "Romam."

Servius Tullius has the credit of having first surrounded the seven hills of Rome with a regular line of

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\* I always quote from Mueller's edition of Varro and Festus.

fortified walls. It is not material to enquire how much of these walls had been built by his predecessors : there seems no reason to doubt that Servius Tullius completed them. Most of the hills were naturally of great strength : Virgil calls them "citadels" (*Georg.* ii. 535.) They required artificial defences at a few points only, where they would be otherwise easy of access. Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. 6, says of Rome,—“Cujus is est tractus, ductusque muri, cum Romuli, tum etiam reliquorum regum, sapientia definitus ex omni parte arduis præruptisque montibus, ut unus aditus qui esset inter Esquilinum Quirinumque montem maximo aggere obiecto fossa cingeretur vastissima, atque ut ita munita arx circumjectu arduo et quasi circumciso saxo niteretur.”

In the description of the Gates, we will begin with the Porta Flumentana, which stood close to the Tiber, and opposite to the island in that river. (*Livy*, xxxv. 9, and 21.) Cicero speaks of it—“Nescio enim an, quum portam Flumentanam Cælius occuparit, ego Puteolos non meos faciam.” *Ad Att.* VII. III. 9. Between this, and the Capitol, but nearly at the foot of the latter, we find the Porta Carmentalis. *Dionys.* i. 32,—“βωμονὸς ἐθεασάμην ἰδρυμένους Καρμέντη μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ καλουμένῃ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Καρμεντίσι πύλαις.” The gate had two arches ; that on the right was considered an unlucky one to pass through, because the Fabii issued from the city by it, when they set out on their fatal expedition to the Cremera. It

was ever after called the "Fornix Sceleratus." (*Livy*, ii. 49. *Ovid. Fast.* ii. 201.)

Between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills it is probable that a gate stood, to which the name of Ratumena has been given. Concerning this gate there is the following legend ;— "Ratumena porta a nomine ejus appellata est qui ludicro certamine quadrigis victor, Etrusci generis juvenis, Veiis consternatis equis, excussus Romæ periit, qui equi feruntur non ante constituisse quam pervenirent in Capitolium." *Festus*, p. 274.

Plutarch, *Poplic.* 13, tells the same story—"τὸ δὲ νικῆσαν τέθριππον (Veiis) ὁ μὲν ἡνίοχος ἐξέηλαυνε τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου σχέδην ἐστεφανωμένος, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι πτοηθέντες ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐμφανοῦς προφάσεως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τι δαιμόνιον ἢ τύχην ἔεντο παντὶ τάχει πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμᾶίων πόλιν ἔχδοντες τὸν ἡνίοχον, ὥς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ κατατείνοντος οὐδὲ παρηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἤρπαστο, δόντα τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ φερόμενον, ἄχρῃς οὐ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ προσμύξαντες ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν, ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τὴν πύλην ἣν νῦν Ῥατουμέναν καλοῦσι." The ground on which the Porta Ratumena is supposed to have stood was subsequently occupied by the Forum of Trajan.

The first gate on the Quirinal Hill is the Fontinalis. (*Livy*, xxxv. 10.) "Fontinalia, fontium sacra; unde et Romæ Fontinalis porta." *Festus*, p. 85.

The next was the Sanqualis, so called from a chapel dedicated to Sancus, or Deus Fidius :—"Sanqualis

“ porta appellatur proxima Ædi Sanci.”\* *Festus*, p. 345. Livy (VIII. 20.) says, that this shrine was near the temple of Quirinus, and Becker fixes the gate at the neighbourhood of the modern *Fontana di Trevi*.

The Porta Salutaris was the next:—“ Salutaris porta “ appellata est ab æde Salutis quæ ei proxima fuit.” *Festus*, p. 327. This was a famous temple built by Caius Julius Bubulcus, A. C. 306, and adorned by the paintings of Fabius Pictor. (*Livy*, ix. 43. x. 1.) It is impossible to fix the exact position of the gate. Canina thinks it stood on the modern *Via di Quattro Fontane*; and Becker inclines to his opinion.

The Porta Collina, called also Quirinalis and Agnensis, was the northernmost of the gates. There is no doubt about its position: it stood at the point of junction of the Via Salaria, and Via Nomentana. (*Ovid. Fast.* iv. 871. *Livy*, II. 11. 51. 64.)

The Porta Esquilina must have stood almost exactly on the site of the arch of Gallienus, which possibly replaced it. The ground between the Porta Collina, and Esquilina was occupied by the Agger, which is thus described by Dionysius, ix. 68,—“Εν δὲ χωρίον δ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμαχώτατόν ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑσκυλίων καλουμένων πυλῶν μέχρι τῶν Κολλίων, χειροποιήτως ἐστὶν ὄχυρόν· τάφρος τε γὰρ ὁρώρεται πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλάτος, ἢ βραχυτάτη, μείζων ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, καὶ βάθος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τριακοντάπουν, τεῖχος δὲ ὑπερ-

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\* Sancus is supposed to have been Hercules (*Propert.* IV. x. 74.) but *vid. Livy* (xxxii. 1) and Facciolati's Dictionary, *in voc.*

“ἀνέσθηκε τῆς τάφρου χώματι συνεχόμενον ἔνδοθεν  
 “ὑψηλῷ καὶ πλατεῖ, οἷον μήτε κριοῖς κατασεισθῆναι  
 “μήτε ὑπορυττομένων τῶν θεμελίων ἀνατραπῆναι. τοῦ-  
 “το τὸ χωρίον ἐπὶ μὲν ἐστὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ μήκος στα-  
 “δίων, πεντήκοντα δὲ ποδῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος.”

About the middle of the Agger stood the Porta Viminalis:—“Viminalis et porta et collis appellantur, quod ibi viminum fuisse videtur sylva, ubi est et ara Jovi Viminio consecrata.” *Festus*, p. 376. (*Juvenal*, III. 71.) It was probably a gate of only secondary importance.

There were two gates on the Cœlian Hill,—the Cœlimontana, and Capena. It is not easy to fix the precise position of the Porta Cœlimontana, though it probably crossed the modern *Via dei Quattro S. S. Coronati* at some point. (*Livy*, xxxv. 9.) Cicero, *in Pison*. 23,—“Quum ego Cœlimontana Porta introissem, sponsione me, ni Esquilina introisset, homo promptissimus lacessivit; quasi vero id aut ego scire debuerim, aut vestrum quispiam audierit, aut ad rem pertineat, qua tu Porta introieris, modo ne Triumphali: quæ Porta Macedonicis semper Proconsulibus ante te patuit.”

There seems sufficient authority for placing a gate, called Quercetulana, or Querquetulania, between the Esquilina and Cœlimontana:—“Querquetulanæ viræ putantur significari nymphæ præsidentes Querqueto viscenti, quod genus sylvæ indicant fuisse intra portam quæ ab eo dicta sit Querquetulania.” *Festus*, p. 261.

“Sylvarum certe distinguebatur insignibus (Roma.)  
 “Fagutali Jovi etiam nunc, ubi lucus Fageus fuit; porta  
 “Querquetulana.” *Pliny, N. H. XVI. x. 15.* Tacitus  
 says, the older name of the Coelian Mount was Querque-  
 tulanus; *Ann. iv. 65*:—“Haud fuerit absurdum tra-  
 “dere, montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cogno-  
 “mento fuisse, quod talis sylvæ frequens fœcundusque  
 “erat: mox Cœlium appellatum a Cœle Vibenna, qui  
 “dux gentis Etruscæ, cum auxilium ad bella ductavisset,  
 “sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis  
 “alius regum dedit.”

The position of the Porta Capena is certain, being at  
 the foot of the Coelian Hill on the West. A branch of  
 the Marcian aqueduct passed over it;—“Marcia autem  
 “partem sui post hortos Pallantianos in rivum, qui voca-  
 “tur Herculaneus, deiecit; is per Cœlium ductus ipsius  
 “montis usibus nihil ut inferior subministrans, finitur  
 “supra portam Capenam.” *Frontinus, Art. 19. (Juvenal,*  
*III. 11. Martial, III. 47.*

The course which the Walls took from the Porta  
 Capena to the angle of the Aventine Hill is extremely  
 doubtful. Three gates, the Nævia, Raudusculana, and  
 Lavernalis, must be assigned to this interval; their  
 position is necessarily uncertain: they are placed on  
 the map according to the situations fixed for them by  
 Becker. “Sequitur porta Nævia, quod in nemoribus  
 “Næviis [Nævii etenim loca ubi ea] sic dicta. Deinde  
 “Raudusculana quod ærata fuit. Æs raudus dictum, ex  
 “eo veteribus in Mancipiis scriptum: *Raudusculo libram*

*"ferito.* Hinc Lavernalis ab ara Lavernæ, quod ibi *"ara ejus."* Varro de Ling. Lat. v. 163. Between the Porta Nævica and the Trigemina, another gate must have intervened. The name of Navalis was given to this gate by many scholars, because the Navalia were supposed to be situated below the Aventine Hill, at which place we know the *Emporium* to have been. Becker however has proved the Navalia to have been in the Campus Martius. (*Livy*, III. 26. XLV. 42.) He proposes to give the name of Minucia to the gate in question; but the matter is wholly uncertain.

The Porta Trigemina stood in the line of wall which ran from the Aventine Hill to the Tiber: it was so called from having three arches: the place in which it stood was called *Salinæ*. Frontinus speaking of the Appian Aqueduct says,—*"Ductus ejus habet longitudinem a capite usque ad Salinas, qui locus est ad portam Trigeminam."*—*"Incipit distribui Appia imo Publicio Clivo ad portam Trigeminam."* Art. 5. Solinus also, I—8, says, *"Cacus habitavit locum cui Salinæ nomen est, ubi Trigemina nunc porta."*

Livy (I. 33) informs us, that the Janiculum was fortified by Ancus Martius: one gate at all events was in this line of fortification, namely that called Aurelia. But the Transtiberine district was not made part of the city before the extinction of the republican form of government. We may conclude however, that there must have been more than one gate in so considerable a line of walls.

During eight centuries, from the reign of Servius Tullius to that of Aurelian, no change of importance had occurred in the walls of Rome; but Aurelian, before he set out on his expedition against Zenobia, commenced the line of walls which bear his name, and were completed by his successor Probus. These walls were subsequently repaired by Honorius and Belisarius; they are the same which surround the modern city, with the exception of the part beyond the Tiber. Pope Leo IVth. first enclosed St. Peter's and the district of the Vatican with a line of fortifications: he also extensively repaired the whole circuit of Aurelian's walls.

The first gate in the Aurelian walls is the Flaminian, close to the modern *Porta del Popolo*; the next is the Porta Pinciana, which Bunsen thinks was also called the Belisaria. Becker however believes, that in the two passages of Procopius where the gate is so called, the reading is corrupt, and that for *Βελισαρία* we should read *Σαλαρία*; or, at all events, if any gate was called after Belisarius, it was the Salarian, not the Pincian.

The Porta Salaria and Nomentana come next in order. The Porta Salaria still bears its name. The Porta Nomentana has been superseded by the *Porta Pia*, in its immediate neighbourhood. We then come to the *Castra Prætoria*, at the southern corner of which there is a gate, at the point where the building joins the walls. This gate is of the same size as the other gates of Honorius, but is now blocked up; whence it is called the *Porta Chiusa*. We then come to the *Porta Tiburtina*,



now called the gate of *S. Lorenzo* ; and then to the *Porta Prænestina*, now called the *Porta Maggiore*.\*

The next gate was the *Asinaria*, now blocked up, but near the modern gate of *S. Giovanni*. .

The next was the gate called *Metrovia*, or *Metronis*, or *Metronii*. It does not now exist.

We then come to the *Porta Latina*, now blocked up ; and at a short distance the *Porta Appia*, now the *Porta di S. Sebastiano*.

An arch exists in the modern walls, which is supposed to be the *Porta Ardeatina* ; and then comes the *Porta Ostiensis*, now called the gate *di S. Paolo*.

On the opposite side of the *Tiber*, at no great distance from its bank, stood the *Porta Portuensis*, now totally destroyed. On the summit of the *Janiculum* stood the *Porta Aurelia*, already mentioned, now called the *Porta di S. Pancrazio*.

It was supposed by some that a gate, called the *Septimiana*, existed in the *Aurelian walls*, opposite to the *Portuensis* ; *Becker* however denies this : the belief that such a gate ever existed rested upon an obscure and corrupt passage in *Spartianus*. (*Vide Becker, p. 127.*)

The walls of *Servius Tullius* were about 6 miles in circumference. The walls of *Aurelian*, allowing about 2 miles and a half for those beyond the *Tiber*, do not exceed 12 miles : yet we are told that the *Geometrician Ammonius* measured the walls about the year A.D. 408,

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\* Niebuhr thinks that the *P. Chiusa* was the *Porta Prænestina* ; the *Porta Tiburtina*, the *Prænestina* ; and the *Prænestina*, the *Laticana* : but see *Bunbury, Class. Mus. vol. III. p. 370*, and *Becker, p. 118*.

and found them to be 21 miles in circumference. Vopiscus states the circumference of Aurelian's fortifications to have been 50 miles. Mr. Burgess (*vol. II. p. 285*) explains this extraordinary statement, by the supposition that Vopiscus intends to comprise the out-works, and extensive fortifications, which were raised at various points and distances from the city, for its defence.

What may have been the average *population* of Rome under the Cæsars, can only be conjectured. The student should consult Hume's masterly "Essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations," particularly *p. 425, seq. (Edinb. 1817.)* Gibbon enters into some detail on the subject, *c. 31* ; and he estimates the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand. Mr. Burgess (*Vol. II. p. 326*) comes to the conclusion that the population was about 1,104,000.

In the list of gates, no mention has yet been made of the Porta Triumphalis. That there *was* such a gate is certain, though direct mention of it is not often met with in ancient authors. Tacitus (*Annal. i. 8*) and Suetonius (*Octavianus, 100*) both state that, on the death of Augustus, the senate decreed that his body should be carried out of the city by the Porta Triumphalis. Cicero also, in a passage already quoted from his speech against Piso, makes distinct mention of it. But positive and decisive as these testimonies are to the fact of the existence of the gate, no scholar has yet been able to determine its position. We should *expect* to find it in the line of wall between the Capitol and the Tiber, a space of not more than 300 yards, and which is

already occupied by two gates, the Carmentalis and Flumentana. Augustus was buried in the Campus Martius, and his funeral procession would naturally pass through one of these gates.

When a victorious general returned to Rome, he assembled the senators generally in the Temple of Bellona; sometimes in that of Apollo; both of which stood outside the walls in the Campus Martius. He then explained to the Fathers his just pretensions to a triumph, by supplying them with a written narrative of his victory, confirmed by a solemn oath. (*Livy*, xxviii. 9. xxxix. 4. xlii. 21.\* *Gibbon, on the Triumphs of the Romans, Miscellaneous Works, Vol. IV. p. 359—398. Lond. 1814.*) Josephus (*Bell. Jud. VII. v. 4.*) describes the triumph of Vespasian and Titus with much minuteness. He says, they passed the previous night in the Temple of Isis, which stood in the Campus Martius; and that in the morning they met the Senate at the Portico of Octavia. He concludes the account thus—*Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς κοινὸν ἅπασιν Οὐεσπασιανὸς βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ νενομισμένον ἄριστον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εὐτρεπισθέν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν πύλην αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρει, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς αἰεὶ τοὺς θριάμβους τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τετυχυῖαν. ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς τε προαπογεύοντες καὶ τὰς θριαμβικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀμφιεσάμενοι, τοῖς δὲ παριδρυμένοις τῇ πύλῃ θύσαντες θεοῖς,*

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\* This passage should be particularly studied, on account of its reference to the practice of triumphing on the Alban Mount, when a general failed in persuading the senate to grant him a legitimate triumph.

ἐπεμπον τὸν θρίαμβον διὰ τῶν θεάτρων διεξελαύνοντες ὅπως εἶη τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡ θέα ῥάων. Becker has seized on the expression ἀνεχώρει, "he returned," to establish his opinion, that the Porta Triumphalis was an arch-way near the Circus Flaminius. There was certainly no "gate" to which Vespasian could have "returned;" for the Porta Flaminia did not then exist; and the word ἀνεχώρει is, at all events, awkward. The authority of Josephus is respectable; but it is not sufficient, on a question of Roman custom and topography, to bear down the direct testimony of the Roman writers. He may very easily have fallen into an error of memory; and it is dangerous to build up an important theory on the exact and severe interpretation of a Greek word in such a writer as Josephus. Becker is certainly wrong in speaking of the Porta Triumphalis as not being a "gate," in the true and proper sense of that word. Gibbon (*l.c.* p. 387, *seq.*) thinks, that the Temple, or rather gate, of Janus, and the Triumphal Gate, were one and the same; but he does not fix its position: and his theory, though ingenious, can hardly be correct. In support of it, however, Gibbon might have appealed to Tacitus, who says there was a Temple of Janus, close to the place where we should look for the Porta Triumphalis. "Jano templum quod apud forum olitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit, triumphumque navalem de Pœnis meruit." *Annal.* II. 49. Augustus began, and Tiberius completed, the repair of this Temple of Janus.

Equally untenable is the theory of Bunsen, who tries to prove that the entrance to the Circus Maximus was the Porta Triumphalis. To accommodate this theory, he arbitrarily alters the line of walls between the Capitoline and Aventine Hills. He has been refuted by Becker (*p. 84, seq.*) and Mr. Bunbury, (*Classical Museum, vol. III. p. 352.*)

The line of a triumphal procession may be probably conjectured. The procession formed in the Campus Martius; it came down the Via Flaminia, (*Martial, x. 6.*) passed through the Circus Flaminius, and would naturally enter the city by the Porta Carmentalis: it then passed through the Velabrum, and Circus Maximus, after which it turned to the left, winding round the Palatine Hill, till it fell into the Via Sacra, which it followed to the end of the Forum, and ended at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This triumphal way was adorned by triumphal arches: the first was that of Marcus Aurelius, in the Via Flaminia (this was taken down in 1665, by Pope Alexander VII, to make more room for the street;) then came the arch of Gordian, also in the Campus Martius, (this was taken down by Innocent VIII;) the next was the arch of Constantine, near the S. E. corner of the Palatine; the arch of Titus still stands on the summit of the Clivus of the Via Sacra: the arch of Fabius stood at the south-eastern angle, and that of Septimius Severus still stands at the north-western angle of the Forum: lastly, the arch of Tiberius stood on the Clivus Capitolinus. Romulus

was the first, and Belisarius the last victorious general, that triumphed: there were in all 350 triumphs celebrated at Rome.

There were many gates of Janus, but in that alone built by Numa was there a statue.

‘Cum tot sint Jani, cur stas sacratus in uno,  
‘Hic ubi juncta foris templa duobus habes?’

*Ovid. Fast. i. 257.*

This must have stood between the Forum Romanum, and the Forum of Julius Cæsar. (*Livy*, i. 19.) An arch through which two roads intersected each was called a Janus. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 27, says,—“Ex quo transitiones perviæ, Jani, foresque in liminibus profanarum ædium, januæ nominantur.” There were many such in the neighbourhood of the Forum. (*Hor. Sat.* ii. iii. 18. *Epist.* i. i. 54. xx. 1.) But the Janus of Numa is the most famous. “Janus geminus a Numa rege dicatus.” *Pliny, N. H.* xxxiv. vii. 16. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ (*Numæ*) καὶ νεὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι. *Plutarch. Vit. Num.* 19. (*Virg. Æn.* i. 294. vii. 6c7; and *Horace*, quoting Ennius, *Sat.* i. iv. 60). There was a celebrated Janus Quadrifons in the Forum Boarium: near its site an arch still stands, raised by subscription amongst the Argentarii and Negociantes of the neighbourhood, in honour of Septimius Severus, his two sons Caracalla and Geta, and their mother Julia. The name of Geta has been erased from this arch, as well as from the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus. No doubt this erasure was ordered by Caracalla, after the murder of his brother. (*Burgess, Vol. I. p. 385.*)

It may be useful to enumerate the gates of Servius Tullius, and Aurelian. The gates of Servius Tullius are the following :—1. Flumentana. 2. Carmentalis. 3. Ratumena. 4. Fontinalis. 5. Sanqualis. 6. Salutaris. 7. Collina. 8. Viminalis. 9. Esquilina. 10. Querquetulana. 11. Cœlimontana. 12. Capena. 13. Lavernalis. 14. Raudusculana. 15. Nævïa. 16. Minucia. 17. Trigemina. 18. Aurelia.

If we count the Porta Triumphalis, and suppose there were two more gates in the Janicular walls, we get 21 ; yet Pliny says (*N. H.* III. v. 9) that there were 37 gates in the walls of Servius Tullius, besides seven that were no longer in use. “Ad singulas portas quæ sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut duodecim semel numerentur, prætereanturque ex veteribus septem, quæ esse desierunt.” The expression “Duodecim Portæ” meant but one gate (*Beschreibung*, Vol. I. p. 194;) it was in the neighbourhood of the Porta Trigemina, and Becker (p. 94) thinks it was not a gate in the walls, but an arch in the Appian Aqueduct, the reservoir of which was close by. By the time of Pliny, the walls of Servius must have been broken through in many places, and he probably called every fresh opening a “gate.”

The gates of Aurelian were 14 :—1. Flaminia. 2. Pinciana. 3. Salaria. 4. Nomentana. 5. The one now called *Chiusa*. 6. Tiburtina. 7. Prænestina. 8. Asinaria. 9. Metrovia. 10. Latina. 11. Appia. 12. Ostiensis. 13. Portuensis. 14. Aurelia. The Mausoleum of Hadrian was converted into a fortress for the defence

of the Ælian bridge, and it appears probable that there was a gate in the wall, which connected that building with the river.

## THE STREETS.

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If we reflect on the vast size of Ancient Rome,—the number of authors who lived in it, and whose works contain scattered and various notices of its topography,—as well as the multitude of those who made the antiquities of Rome the specific subject of their writings,—we may perhaps feel surprise at the little knowledge we have of its streets.

But the configuration of the city, spread out as it was over the uneven and perpetually interrupted surface of seven hills, was not favourable to an unbroken and regular line of street. The houses of the wealthier and more powerful inhabitants seem to have been isolated; and the astonishing effect which the city must have produced on the mind of the spectator, was produced by the magnificent and colossal splendour of individual buildings, rather than by the beautiful disposition of capacious and extensive streets. But the same inequality of ground, which was unfavourable to a regular series of streets, was eminently calculated to display the beauty of detached buildings to the greatest advantage. Probably the streets of Rome were never



commodious or handsome. Juvenal, (*Sat.* III. 193. 199. 225. 236. VI. 78) though he lived in the time of Trajan, is full of complaints about the narrowness of the streets, and the enormous height, darkness, and discomfort of the houses.

The Cæsars seem to have been, almost without exception, great lovers of building. It is a well-known saying, that Augustus found Rome built of brick, and left it built of marble. Emperors, whose very names are symbols of all that is hateful and loathsome in human nature, took a pride in adorning their capital by works of stupendous grandeur, and often, it must be admitted, of great public utility. No doubt, it was one of their objects to introduce greater regularity in the principal public thoroughfares of the city. Order and arrangement, even in buildings, harmonizes with the genius of despotism.

The Emperors, from Augustus to the Antonines, seem to have laboured particularly to render the Forum Romanum the centre of imperial magnificence; and the Palaces, Fora, Temples, Statues, and Amphitheatres, with which they covered the neighbouring ground, must have presented a truly wonderful and unequalled combination of architecture and art. We will first of all proceed to a description of some of the Roman streets, the position and direction of which has been certainly ascertained; and then we will turn our attention to the Fora.

One of the most remarkable streets, and most interesting from historical association, was the Via

*Sacra* :\* it began at the *Sacellum Streniæ*, which stood at the foot of the *Carinæ* ; it proceeded across the low ground, in which the Colosseum stood, towards the Colossus Neronis ; it then reached the "*Summa Via Sacra*," at the Arch of Titus ; from thence it "*descended*" (*Hor. Epod.* vii. 7.) by the Temple of Vesta (*Hor. Sat.* I. ix. 35) to the Forum, which it entered at its south-eastern angle, after passing under the arch of Fabius. It is most probable that it crossed the eastern end of the Forum, over to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and passed along its northern side to the arch of Septimius Severus, from which it turned off on the right to the *Arx*, where it ended.

The *Sacellum Streniæ* stood in a piece of ground called *Ceroliensis*, a word of unknown etymology.† Varro says thus :—" *Ceroliensis* a *Carinarum* junctū dictus *Carinæ*, post ea *Ceriolia*, quod hinc oritur caput "*Sacræ Viæ*, ab *Streniæ Sacello*, quæ pertinet in *Arcem*, qua *sacra* quotquot mensibus feruntur in *Arcem*, et per quam *Augures* ex *Arce* profecti solent inaugurare. "*Hujus Sacræ Viæ* pars hæc sola vulgo nota, quæ est a "*foro eunti primore*‡ *clivo*." *Ling. Lat.* v. 47.

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\* It was properly called *Sacra Via*, during the republican period. *Via Sacra* was the popular name in the later ages of the Empire : by poets, however, of whatever age, it is often called *Via Sacra*. (*Hor. Sat.* I. ix. 1.)

† Is it impossible that this word, like "*ceremonia*," may be connected with *isḗps* ?

‡ The word "*primore*" is evidently corrupt ; but whether the right reading be "*primo*," or "*proximo*," the sense will be the same, — "The slope which you ascend, immediately on leaving the Forum."

Festus has this passage, *p.* 290 :—"Sacram Viam "quidam appellatam esse existimant, quod in ea fœdus "ictum sit inter Romulum et Tatium; quidam, quod "eo itinere utantur sacerdotes idulium sacrorum con- "ficiendorum causa.\* Itaque ne eatenus quidem, ut "vulgus opinatur, sacra appellanda est a Regia ad "domum Regis sacrificuli, sed etiam a Regis domo ad "Sacellum Streniæ, et rursus a Regia usque in Arcem." (*Ovid. Fast.* 1. 56.)

The road from the arch of Titus to the Forum formed a considerable slope, called in *three* poetic passages the "Sacer Clivus." (*Hor. Od.* IV. 11. 33. *Martial*, I. LXXI. 5. IV. LXXIX. 7.) A passage in Cicero (*pro Plancio*, 7) plainly proves the arch of Fabius to have been at some distance from the Summa Sacra Via, but on a right line with it. He is complaining that Plancius had been assailed by his prosecutor, in preference to others who were more deserving of attack ;—"Hoc tamen miror, cur tu huic potissimum irascere, qui "longissime a te abfuit. Equidem, si quando, ut fit, "jactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in Summa "Sacra Via, cum ego ad Fabium fornicem impellor, sed "eum, qui in me ipsum incurrit atque incidit." It would appear, that the road between the arch of Titus and the Forum was popularly and peculiarly called the Via Sacra; in later ages the name was probably applied

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\* Mr. Bunbury thinks Varro does not refer to the Sacra Idulia, which were held in the *Capitol*, but to the Nonalia, which were held in the *Ars*. "Harum rerum vestigia in *Sacris Nonalibus in arce*, quod tunc "ferias primas menstruas quæ futuræ sint eo mense, rex edicit populo." *Varro de Ling. Lat.* VI. 28.

with considerable latitude to the vicinity, and was not confined to the street of the Clivus. The immense buildings subsequently erected—the temple of Venus and Rome—and the Basilica of Constantine,—must have altered the features of the neighbouring ground; probably produced some change in the line by which the Via Sacra entered the Forum; and so gave an extended sense to the term. Many allusions occur to the variety of *tradesmen* of the Via Sacra, who could hardly have been numerous, if their shops were confined to the space between the arches of Titus and Fabius. *Varro de Re Rust.* i. 2,—“Hujusce inquam pomaria  
 “Summa Sacra Via, ubi poma veneunt.” (*Ovid. Art. Amat.* ii. 265. *Amor.* i. viii. 99. *Propert.* ii. xxi. 13.)  
 The Street ended at the Arx, which appears to have been the residence of the Sabine kings: here Titus Tatius lived. “Tatius in Arce ubi nunc est ædes  
 “monetæ (habitavit.)” *Solinus*, c. i. 21. Livy (i. 18) states that Numa took the auspices here, previous to his inauguration as king; the Auguraculum was situated here:—“Auguraculum appellabant antiqui quam  
 “nos Arcem dicimus, quod ibi augures publice auspi-  
 “carentur.” *Festus*, p. 18. From this spot the Augurs continued to take the public auspices upon all important occasions, down to the end of the republic; and from this they issued forth along the Sacred Way, to discharge their solemn functions elsewhere.

“The Arx was the termination of the Via Sacra,  
 “which, as we have already seen, began from the Sa-  
 “cellum Streniæ, a sanctuary of Sabine origin, closely

"connected with the temple of Vesta, and its adjoining  
 "sacred edifices ; all of them among those commonly  
 "ascribed to Numa, the representative of Sabine rites  
 "and institutions." (*Bunbury, Classical Museum, Vol.*  
*IV. p. 438.*)

The Vicus Jugarius ran from the south-western corner of the Forum, round the foot of the Capitol, to the Porta Carmentalis. (*Livy, xxxv. 21. xxiv. 47. xxvii. 37.*)

The Vicus Tuscus led from the southern side of the Forum to the Velabrum, and Forum Boarium. *Livy* (ii. 14) informs us, that it gained its name from the Etruscans, who settled there ; and in describing a procession from the Forum to the temple of Juno Regina, on the Aventine Hill, he lays down the route thus :—The Vicus Tuscus—Velabrum—Forum Boarium—Clivus Publicius—Ædes Junonis. (*xxvii. 37. extr.*) The Vicus Tuscus was certainly a very ancient street, and a great thoroughfare from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, and the neighbouring places. It was a busy street ; but the character of its shopkeepers does not appear to have stood high : Horace calls them "a roguish set." (*Sat. II. iii. 228.*)

The term Velabrum appears originally to have been applied to the whole of the low swampy ground which ran up between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, occupying the site of the Circus Maximus ; and between the Palatine and Capitol, occupying the site of the Forum. (*Ovid. Fast. vi. 405, seq. Tibull. II. v. 33. Propert. IV. ix. 5.*) Others think the name was derived from

"*vela*," *tents* or *stalls* of petty dealers;\* or from the canvass awning which covered the line of street from the Forum to the Circus, in the procession which took place at the commencement of the Ludi Circenses. But the name must have existed before market-stalls or Circensian games existed.† The low ground of the Velabrum and Forum was always liable to inundation, though it was protected from ordinary floods by a pier of massive stone work on the banks of the Tiber, between the Porta Flumentana and Trigemina. The existence of the Lacus Curtius in the Forum is sufficient proof of the original condition and nature of the ground. There was a Velabrum *majus* and *minus*. *Varro de Ling. Lat.* v. 156,—“Palus fuit in minore Velabro, a quo, quod ibi vehabantur lintribus, Velabrum; ut illud *majus* de quo supra dictum est.” That the greater branch lay between the Aventine and Palatine, and the lesser between the Capitol and Palatine, is probable; but the point is uncertain. The term Velabrum was subsequently restricted to the space, or street, which led from the Vicus Tuscus to the Forum Boarium; the area occupied by this Forum must have been considerable; (*Ovid. Fast.* vi. 477) but it is impossible to fix its limits with any approach to precision. Near the banks of the Tiber stands a well known circular building, popularly called the ‘Temple of Vesta,’ and it appears

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\* Is not this the meaning of the word “umbra” in Horace, *Epist.* I. vii. 50?

† Etymologies of the names of streets are often interesting and curious; but they are also hazardous. The “Strand” and “Fleet-street” of London present a tempting illustration and parallel to the name “Velabrum.”

with that name on the map ; but its right to the name is doubtful. Becker calls it the Temple of Cybele. A Temple of Mater Matuta stood within the Carmental gate. (*Livy*, xxiv. 47. xxv. 7. *Ovid*, *Fast.* vi. 479.)

The Nova Via was probably so called because it was the first street built outside the walls of the original city of Romulus ; its course may be laid down with exactness ; it began near the arch of Titus, and for some distance must have run nearly parallel and close to the Via Sacra ; but it turned to the left, passing between the sacred grove and temple of Vesta ; and after skirting the foot of the Palatine, ended at the Porta Romana, in the Velabrum. Tarquinius Priscus dwelt close to the temple of Jupiter Stator, which we have already seen stood at the Summa Sacra Via : the windows of his palace looked on one side into the Nova Via, and out of them Tanaquil addressed the people, after the murder of the king. (*Livy*, i. 41. v. 32.) Cicero says,—“ Non  
“ multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco  
“ Vestæ, qui a Palatii radice in Novam Viam devexus  
“ est.” *De Divinat.* i. 45. *Solinus*, i. 24,—“ Tarquinius  
“ Priscus ad Mugoniam Portam supra summam Novam  
“ Viam.” *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* vi. 24,—“ Hoc sacrificium  
“ (Larentalia) fit in Velabro, qua in Novam Viam exitur,  
“ ut aiunt quidam, ad sepulcrum Accæ, ut quod ibi  
“ prope faciunt Dis manibus servilibus sacerdotes, qui  
“ uterque locus extra urbem antiquam fuit, non longe  
“ a porta Romanula.” From a passage in Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 396,) it appears that a short street must have been made, which connected the Nova Via with the Forum ; it probably ran close to the Temple of Vesta.

From the Porta Romana, at the western end of the Nova Via, the Clivus Victoriæ began ; so called from the Temple of Victory, to which it led, on the summit of the Palatine. " Porta Romana instituta est a Romulo " infimo Clivo Victoriæ, qui locus gradibus in quadram " formatus est. Appellata autem Romana a Sabinis, " præcipue quod ea proxime aditus erat Romam." *Festus*, p. 262. An Arcadian shrine, dedicated to Victory, was said to have stood there, at the time of the foundation of Rome. ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες, θυσίας καὶ ταύτην κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, ἃς καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθουν. *Dionys.* i. 32. L. Postumius subsequently built a temple there. (*Livy*, x. 33. xxix. 14. xxxv. 9.)

The ridge, on which the arch of Titus stands, was much more considerable than the modern traveller would suppose : the pavement, which has been excavated at this point, is 53 feet above the level of the pavement in the Forum. This ridge ran from the Palatine to the Esquiline, dividing the basin in which the Colosseum stands, from that which contained the Forum : it was called Velia. Poplicola, as we learn from *Livy*, (ii. 7) excited popular suspicion and alarm by building his house on the elevated part of this ridge ; and Cicero says of him,—" *Ædes suas detulit sub Veliam, posteaquam, " quod in excelsiore loco Velix cœpisset ædificare, eo " ipso quo rex Tullus habitaverat, suspicionem populi " sensit moveri.*" *De Rep.* ii. 31. *Dionysius* says of him—" τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφθόνῳ τόπῳ κατεσκευάσατο, " λόφον ὑπερκεῖμενον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑψηλὸν ἐπικικῶς καὶ



“*περίτομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Ἑλίαν, ἐκλεξάμενος.*”  
 v. 19. The *Ædes Penatium* also stood in the *Velia*, at a short distance from the north-eastern corner of the Forum. “*Veliense sexticeps in Velia, apud ædem Deum Penatium.*” *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 54. “*Tullus Hostilius in Velia, ubi postea Deum Penatium ædes facta est.*” *Solin.* i. 22. (*Livy*, xlv. 16.) Dionysius has an important passage on the subject,—“*Νεὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δεικνύται τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρινὰς φέρουσαν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν Ὑπελαλαῖς\* τὸ χωρίον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κεῖνται τῶν Τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, ἅπασιν ὁρᾶν, ΔΕΝΑΣ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαι, δηλοῦσαν τοὺς Πενάτας. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, τοῦ Πι μήπω γράμματος εὐρημένου, τῷ δέλτῳ δηλοῦν τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν τοὺς παλαιούς.*” i. 68. The immense fabrics of the Temple of Venus and Rome, and the Basilica Constantini, must almost entirely have occupied the *Velia*.

The famous *Carinæ* stood on that part of the Esquiline Hill called *Oppius*; its position is now marked by the church of *S. Pietro in Vincoli*. It was a fashionable street. (*Virg. Æn.* viii. 361. *Hor. Epist.* i. vii. 48.) Various explanations are given of the word, all equally uncertain and unsatisfactory. Dionysius proves that it

\* The word *Ὑπελαλαῖς* is obviously corrupt: *Οθέλια* is Casaubon's reading. Becker (p. 42) thinks that the original inscription on the statues was *PENATIBUS*; which Dionysius represented by *ΠΕΝΑΣΙ*, or, in older characters, *ΔΕΝΑΣΙ*. But whatever may be the orthography of the word, there can be no doubt that Dionysius is speaking of the *Ædes Penatium*, and that he describes it as standing in the *Velia*.

stood on an eminence;—"Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ στενωπῇ τῇ  
 " φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐρ-  
 " χομένοις στενωπόν· ἔνθα οἱ τε βωμοὶ μένουσιν οἱ  
 " τότε ἰδρυθέντες, καὶ ξύλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τέταται δυσὶ  
 " τοῖς ἀντικρὺ ἀλλήλων τοίχοις ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὃ γίνεται  
 " τοῖς ἐξιούσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καλουμένον τῇ Ῥωμαικῇ  
 " διαλέκτῳ Ξύλον ἀδελφῆς." III. 22. The Tigillum  
 Sororium, the position of which is so clearly pointed  
 out in this passage, was a beam of wood stretching  
 across a narrow alley. An altar stood on each side of  
 it,—one dedicated to Juno Sororia, and the other to  
 Janus Curiatius; both of these names appear to refer  
 to the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii. The  
 beam itself was regarded as the figurative yoke under  
 which the victorious Horatius was made to pass, as an  
 expiation to his sister's manes. (*Bunbury, Classical  
 Museum*, v. p. 225. *Livy*, I. 26.)

The Vicus Cyprius proceeded from the Forum round  
 the foot of the Oppius, and probably ran between that  
 tongue of the Esquiline Hill and the Cispius, to the  
 Esquiline Gate. The narrative given by Livy (I. 48)  
 of Tullia's impiety is the great authority on this point.  
 It was just as she was turning to the right, to ascend  
 the Clivus Urbicus, that she saw the dead body of her  
 father, which she inhumanly drove over: the part of  
 the street where this occurred was ever after called  
 Sceleratus. (*Ovid. Fast.* vi. 601—610.) Solinus, I. 25,  
 also says that Servius Tullius dwelt on the Esquiline,—  
 "(Habitavit) Servius Tullius Esquiliis supra Clivum  
 " Urbium." Festus says,—“Orbis Clivus videtur ap-

"pellatus esse ab orbibus. Hujus per flexuosos orbes  
 "Tullia, filia Servii Tullii regis, et cum ea L. Tarquinius  
 "Superbus gener, rege in Curia interfecto, properave-  
 "rant, tendentes in regiæ domus in Esquiliiis posses-  
 "sionem; cœperat autem hunc Clivum rex Tullius,  
 "quod pronus erat ascensus, per orbes in montem  
 "ducere, unde Orbis ab ipsis his orbibus appellatus  
 "est." *p.* 182. "Vicus Cyprius a cypro, quod ibi  
 "Sabini cives additi consederunt, qui a bono omine  
 "id appellarunt; nam cyprum Sabine bonum. Prope  
 "hunc Vicus Sceleratus, dictus a Tullia, Tarquini  
 "Superbi uxore; quod, ibi cum jaceret pater occisus,  
 "supra eum carpentum mulio ut inigeret jussit."  
*Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 159.

The Esquiline Hill, on its inner side, is divided into  
 two tongues, called Oppius and Cispinus. These names  
 occur in the list of the original seven hills of Rome: sub-  
 sequently they became obsolete, and were only retained  
 in connexion with ancient religious rites. Festus says—  
 "Oppius autem appellatus est, ut ait Varro, ab Opitre  
 "Oppio Tusculano, qui cum præsidio Tusculanorum  
 "missus ad Romam tuendam, dum Tullus Hostilius  
 "Veios oppugnaret, consederat in Carinis, et ibi castra  
 "habuerat. Similiter Cispium a Lævo Cispio Anagnino,  
 "qui ejusdem rei causa eam partem Esquiliarum, quæ  
 "jacet ad Vicum Patricium versus, in qua regione est  
 "ædis Mefitis, tuitus est." *p.* 348.

The Vicus Patricius occupied the valley between the  
 Viminal and Esquiline hills. Festus informs us (*in voc.*

*Patricius*) that Servius Tullius compelled the patricians to reside in this valley, that he might be able to command them from the heights above, in case of their attempting insurrection. The reason here given for the street being occupied by the patricians is, no doubt, historically false ; but the fact of the street lying in a low ground, is clearly proved. The modern *Via Urbana*, and *Via di Sta Pudenziana* occupy the line of the ancient Vicus Patricius. No ancient name can be assigned, with any show of probability, to the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal Hills.

The Subura occupied the hollow formed by the junction of the valleys of the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills. The word originally designated a quarter of the city, rather than a single street. It was the name of one of the four tribes of Servius Tullius, all of which were called after the districts which they comprised.

Varro gives a curious etymology of the word ;—"Ei-  
 "dem regioni (Sacrae Viæ) attributa Subura, quod sub  
 "muro terreo Carinarum ; in ea est Argeorum sacellum  
 "sextum. Subura Junius scribit ab eo, quod fuerit  
 "sub antiqua urbe ; cui testimonium potest esse, quod  
 "subest ei loco, qui Terreus Murus vocatur. Sed ego a  
 "pago potius Succusano dictam puto Succusam : quod  
 "in nota etiam\* nunc scribitur tertia litera C non B.  
 "Pagus Succusanus, quod succurrit Carinis." *De Ling.*  
*Lat.* v. 48. "Suburam Verrius alio libro a pago Suc-  
 "cusano dictum ait ; hoc vero maxime probat eorum

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\* These words are added by Müller.

"auctoritatem, qui aiunt ita appellatam et regionem  
 "urbis et tribum a stativo præsidio, quod solitum sit  
 "succurrere Exquilis, infestantibus eam partem urbis  
 "Gabinis, indicioque esse quod adhuc ea tribus per *c.*  
 "literam non *b.* scribatur." *Fest. p.* 309. What this  
 "earthen rampart" was, or rather what was so called,  
 it is difficult to determine. Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 106) speaks  
 of the great Cloaca, as running under the Subura, which  
 it would naturally do, if prolonged from the Forum.  
 The Subura was the most busy, crowded, noisy quarter  
 of Rome. Martial speaks of a "*Clivus Suburanus*;"  
 probably that part which rose towards the Quirinal  
 Hill. (*Martial*, V. xxii. 5. X. xix. 5. *Juvenal*, *Sat.*  
*xi.* 50 *iii.* 5. x. 156. *Persius*, v. 32.)

Suetonius says that Julius Cæsar originally lived in  
 this quarter :—"Habitavit primo in Subura, modicis  
 "sedibus; post autem pontificatum maximum, in Sacra  
 "Via, domo publica." *Ch.* 46.

The district called Argiletum appears to have com-  
 menced at the entrance to the Subura, which is called by  
 Martial its "jaws," (ii. 17) and to have reached to the  
 Forum; whence Livy, in a passage already quoted, says  
 that the Janus Geminus stood "at the end of the  
 "Argiletum." It probably comprised most of the  
 ground on which the Imperial Fora were subsequently  
 built. Varro says,—"*Argiletum sunt qui scripserunt,*  
 "*ab Argola, seu Agrola,\* quod is huc veniret, ibique sit*  
 "*sepultus.* (*Virg. Æn.* viii. 350.) Alii ab Argilla, quod

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\* This word is added by Müller.

"ibi id genus terræ." *De Ling. Lat.* v. 157. Martial's booksellers (for he appears to have had several) lived in the Argiletum. (I. III. I. cxvii. 8. I. II. 5.) He agrees with Virgil in the etymology of the word; but it is more probable that it was derived from *argilla*.

These are the more important streets; and their position may be regarded as certainly determined. Vast numbers of other streets are mentioned in ancient writers, but we cannot at present trace their course with certainty; nor have they that historical value, which belongs to those we have enumerated.

## THE FORA.

### THE FORUM ROMANUM.

The famous Forum of Rome was of irregular shape, being about 630 French feet in length, whilst its width varied from 100 to 190.\* It was bounded on the north-west by the arch of Septimius Severus, and on the north-east by the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina; whilst the arch of Fabius formed its limit on the south-east, and the Græcostasis (of the Emperors) bounded it on the south-west. The central part of the Forum was laid down with slabs of stone of Phocas; whereas the streets which ran along its sides were paved, like the other streets of Rome, with silex: the sides were slightly raised above the level of the principal space. The Comitium formed the eastern and narrowest end of the

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\* The French foot is 13 inches.

Forum : it always remained an open space, though it was occasionally covered over, for the purpose of exhibiting games. (*Livy*, XXVII. 36.) Suetonius, in his life of Julius Cæsar, says,—“Ædilis, præter Comitium “ et Forum Basilicasque, etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus exstructis.” *Ch. x.* It was first enclosed by Tullus Hostilius, of whom Cicero says *de Repub.* II. 17—“Fecit idem et sepsit de manubiis “ Comitium et Curiam.” The whole space of the Forum was not very considerable ; but its magnitude had been determined by the accidental, though unalterable, features of the ground. Rome rose from small beginnings ; and she continued to use the same Forum, whilst in the zenith of her republican splendour, which had been the Forum of her petty and insignificant monarchy. But, in the progress of time and events, the old Forum of course became less and less fit for its various purposes : elections, originally held there, were transferred to the Campus Martius : exhibitions, of which the Forum had been the customary scene, were provided for in amphitheatres : Basilicæ were built for the transaction of legal and judicial business, which had previously been performed in the Comitium. The Forum, proper, served originally as a market-place for the lower orders, the *plebs* ; whereas the Comitium was the scene of *patrician* assemblies and elections ; and all the edifices, which tradition attributed to the four first kings, stood in it, or in its immediate neighbourhood. It was elevated above the level of the Forum, with which it was connected by steps, called the *gradus Comitii*. The re-

publican Rostra stood in the centre of the line of enclosure which separated the patrician from the plebeian part of the Forum. Why the elevated place, from which orations were delivered, was called Rostra, is well known. (*Livy*, VIII. 14.)

The Curia Hostilia stood on the northern side, and in immediate contact with the Comitium. It served as a place of assembly for the senate, (*Livy*, XXII. 55. VII. 60.) till the year 51, A. C. when it was burnt down, at the funeral of Clodius. (*Cicero pro Milone*, 33.) Rome was divided into 30 Curiae. "Each Curia had its chapel "or temple, for the performance of religious rites; and "as they were inaugurated places, the senate might, as "occasion required, assemble in them; hence the word "Curia itself came to signify the place where the senate "was accustomed to meet. The Curiae in this sense "however were of two kinds; the one where the priests "took care of divine matters, and the other where the "senate took counsel for human affairs." (*Burgess*, Vol. I. p. 360.) "Comitium ab eo, quod coibant eo Comitibus "Curiatis, et litium causa. Curiae duorum generum: "nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut Curiae "Veteres; et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia, "quod primus ædificavit Hostilius rex. Ante hanc "Rostra, quoniam loci id vocabulum, quod ex hostibus "capta fixa sunt rostra. Sub dextra hujus a Comitio "locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, "qui ad senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatus a parte, ut multa. Senaculum supra Græcostasin, "ubi ædis Concordiæ, et Basilica Opimia. Senaculum



“vocatū ubi senatus, aut ubi seniores consisterent ;  
 “dictum, ut gerusia apud Græcos.” *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 155. Pliny says, that in early times the hour of noon was marked, when the sun, as seen from the Curia Hostilia, stood in a line between the Rostra and the Græcostasis. “Duodecim tabulis ortus tantum et  
 “occasus nominantur ; post aliquot annos adjectus est  
 “et meridies, accenso Consulū id pronunciante, cum  
 “a Curia inter Rostra et Græcostasin prospexisset  
 “solem.” *N. H.* vii. 60.

The Græcostasis of the republic was not a building, but a raised terrace ; the Senaculum was probably of similar character ; and the whole area, subsequently occupied by the Græcostasis and Senaculum, appears to have been called originally “Vulcanal,” or “area Vulcani.” In this way Pliny and Livy may be reconciled ; one of whom says that Cn. Flavius built a shrine to Concord, on the *Græcostasis*, which the other says was built on the “*area Vulcani*.” “Flavius vovit  
 “ædem Concordiæ, si populo reconciliasset ordines. Et  
 “cum ad id pecunia publica non decerneretur, ex  
 “multatitia fœneratoribus condemnatis ædiculam  
 “æream fecit in Græcostasi, quæ tunc supra Comitium  
 “erat.” *Pliny, N. H.* xxiii. 6. (*Livy*, ix. 46.) This shrine, dedicated to Concord, must not be confounded with the greater temple, consecrated to the same goddess, which stood at the western end of the Forum. This was built at a much later period by the Consul Opimius, after the death of C. Gracchus, to commemorate the pretended restoration of harmony between the contending parties

of the state. On the Vulcanal also was placed a famous statue of Horatius Cocles; it was a bronze quadriga, and originally stood in the Comitium. *Aulus Gellius*, iv. 5,—“Statua Romæ in Comitio posita Horatii Coclitis “fortissimi viri de cælo tacta est.”

Behind the Vulcanal stood a fish-market; not to be confounded with that near the Tiber. Plautus refers to it—

“Symbolarum collatores apud Forum Piscarium.”

*Curculio*, Act. IV. Sc. 1. 13.

The Rostra was circular; the platform on the top was ascended by two staircases, and was faced by a parapet; it was large enough to allow the orator to walk about, and had a seat for witnesses, or such other persons as he might require. Near the Rostra stood a statue of Cloacina, the goddess of purification; this statue was raised to commemorate the reconciliation of the Romans and Samnites,—an event which was celebrated by religious lustrations. This statue must have stood on the northern side, towards the Novæ Tabernæ. (*Livy*, III. 48.)

Plautus uses the word Cloacina, as synonymous with the Rostra :—

“Qui perjurum convenire vult hominem, mitto in Comitium ;

“Qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinæ sacrum.”

*Curculio*, Act. IV. Sc. 1, 9.

Some bronze statues, three feet in height, were placed on the steps of the Rostra : they represented the Roman ambassadors, who were murdered by Lar Tolumnius, king of Veii, as well as some others, who lost their lives whilst discharging the office of ambassadors. Cicero

mentions Cn. Octavius, killed by Leptines at Laodicea, whilst on an embassy to Antiochus. The whole of his Ninth Philippic is upon the subject of conferring honours on the memory of Servius Sulpicius, who had died on an embassy to Antony : the chief honour proposed is—  
 “*Senatui placere, Servio Sulpicio statuam pedestrem æneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis sententia statui.*”  
 (*Ch. VII.*) Cicero names the four murdered ambassadors, Tullus Cluvius, L. Roscius, Sp. Antius, and C. Fulcinus.  
 “*Lar Tolumnius, rex Veientum, quatuor legatos populi Romani Fidenis interemit; quorum statuæ in Rostris steterunt usque ad nostram memoriam. Justus hos nos!*” (*ch. ii.*) Pliny says, *N. H. xxxiv. 6*, “*Inter antiquissimas (statuas) sunt et Tulli Clœlii, L. Roscii, Spurii Nautii, C. Fulcinii in Rostris, a Fidenatibus in legatione interfectorum. Hoc a republica tribui solet injuria cæsis, sicut et P. Junio, et T. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuca Illyricorum regina interfecti erant.*”

At the eastern extremity of the Comitium stood the Tribunal : it was a raised eminence, and contained the judge's seat. In the earliest times, this was probably the only court at which justice was administered. Near the Tribunal was the well-cover of Libo. (*Hor. Sat. II. vi. 35. Epist. I. xix. 8.*) Cicero, *de Divin. i. 17*, says,—  
 “*Evenit ut Tarquinius augure Attio Navio uteretur, et populus de suis rebus ad eum referret. Cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in Comitio, supraque impositum puteal accepimus.*”

In the Comitium also stood the statues of the three Sibyls, or Fates, the most ancient work of Roman art

known to Pliny, who says,—“ Equidem et Sibyllæ  
 “ (statuam) juxta Rostra esse non miror, tres sint licet;  
 “ una quam Sextus Pacuvius Taurus ædilis plebis in-  
 “ stituit; duæ quas M. Messala. Primas putarem has,  
 “ et Attii Navii, positas ætate Tarquinii Prisci, nisi  
 “ regum antecedentium essent in Capitolio.” *N. H.*  
*xxxiv. ii.* Several statues of distinguished Romans  
 stood here; all of them on foot, except that of Pompey.  
 “ Here, too, stood the sacred fig-tree, to which had been  
 “ transferred both the name and the tradition originally  
 “ belonging to one in a very different situation, the  
 “ Ficus Ruminalis, which had grown by the Lupercal  
 “ under the Palatine Hill, and at the foot of which the  
 “ infants Romulus and Remus were found. To make  
 “ the change complete, a legend was invented, that the  
 “ fig-tree in the Comitium had been miraculously trans-  
 “ planted thither by the augur Attius Navius; and  
 “ this fable doubtless found a confirmation in the fact,  
 “ from which it had perhaps derived its origin,—that  
 “ the statue of that celebrated soothsayer, erected, as it  
 “ was said, by Tarquin himself, stood close by the sacred  
 “ tree in the Comitium.” (*Bunbury, Classical Museum,*  
*Vol. IV. p. 14.*) Tacitus says,—“ Eodem anno (A. D.  
 “ 59) Ruminalem arborem in Comitio, quæ super  
 “ octingentos et quadraginta ante annos Remi Romuli-  
 “ que infantiam texerat, mortuis ramalibus et arescente  
 “ trunco deminutam, prodigii loco habitum est, donec  
 “ in novos fetus reviresceret.” *Annal. xiii. 58. (Livy,*  
*i. 4. x. 23. Ovid. Fast. ii. 411.)*

The statue of Attius Navius stood, according to Livy, to the left, on the flight of steps in front of the Curia Hostilia. (i. 36.)

At about the centre of the Forum was the Lacus Curtius; the place was indicated by a species of altar: near it were a vine, an olive, and a fig-tree, planted there by the plebeians, according to Pliny. There were also several statues of victorious generals, and columns, particularly one raised in honour of C. Mænius, the vanquisher of the Prisci. "Antiquior columnarum" (celebratio,) sicut C. Mænio qui devicerat Priscos "Latinos, quibus ex fœdere tertias prædæ populus "Romanus præstabat, eodemque in consulatu in sug- "gestu rostra devictis Antiatis fixerat anno urbis "ccccxvi. Item C. Duillio, qui primus navalem trium- "phum egit de Pœnis, quæ est etiam nunc in Foro." *Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 11.* This last was called the Columna Rostrata. Suetonius says, that the people, after burning the body of Julius Cæsar, "solidam columnam "prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, "scripsitque '*Parenti Patriæ.*' Apud eandem longo "tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quas- "dam interposito per Cæsarem jurejurando distrahere, "perseveravit." *Jul. Cæs. ch. lxxxv.*

A range of shops, originally of mean character, butchers' stalls, &c. ran along the northern and southern sides of the Forum. (*Livy, III. 48. xxvi. 27.*) These shops were subsequently altered into the offices of bankers and money-changers. Both sides were thus altered, and were called respectively *Novæ* and *Veteres*,

Tabernæ, or Argentariæ. A passage in Cicero (*Acadēm.* iv. 22) proves that the Novæ were on the North;—"Ut  
 "ii qui sub Novis solem non ferunt, item ille cum  
 "æstualet veterum ut mœnianorum, sic Academicorum  
 "umbram secutus est." Varro notices this change  
 from the meaner to the higher description of shop;—  
 "Hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit, atque  
 "ex tabernis lanienis argentariæ factæ." *Varro ap.*  
*Nonium, ch. xii. p. 364. ed. Gerlach.* These Argentariæ  
 themselves subsequently disappeared, though Livy says,  
 that the Novæ were still standing in his time. (xxvi. 27.)

A Basilica Argentaria was built, probably to supply  
 the place of the expelled bankers' shops, on the slope of  
 the Capitoline Hill, towards the Forum of Trajan.

Four Basilicæ adorned the Forum during the repub-  
 lican period.\* The first built was called the Porcian;  
 it was begun in the year of the Censorship of Cato,  
 A. C. 184; (*Livy, xxxix. 44.*) it stood immediately to  
 the west of the Curia Hostilia, and perished with the  
 conflagration which destroyed that building. Asconius

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\* "Anything distinguished for its splendour was called by the ancients  
 " 'basilicum,' or 'kingly;' and an 'sedes basilica' might originally  
 " be a magnificent edifice of any kind: but when these spacious halls  
 " were erected about the forums, for the administration of justice, the  
 " word 'sedes,' or 'aula,' or 'porticus' was dropped, and only the  
 " adjective 'basilica' applied to them by distinction, which then of  
 " course became a substantive. The first building of this description  
 " was made by M. Porcius Cato, in the 566th year of the city, and was  
 " called the 'Basilica Porcia.' The justice-hall built by Pompey near his  
 " theatre was called 'Regia,' exactly synonymous with the Greek word  
 " 'Basilica.'" (*Burgess, vol. i. p. 291.*) Suetonius says of Augustus,—  
 " Pompeii quoque statuat, contra theatri ejus regiam, marmoreo Jano  
 " superposit, translata e Curia, in qua C. Cæsar fuerat occisus."  
*Octav. 31.*

says, of this fire,—“quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flavit, et item Porcia Basilica, quæ erat ei juncta, ambusta est.” *Argument. ad Cic. pro Milon.*

The next Censors, A. C. 179, M. Fulvius, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, built a much more splendid Basilica, between the Porcian Basilica and the Capitoline Hill, behind the Argentariæ Novæ. (*Livy*, XL. 51.) The Basilica was called by the name Fulvia, or Æmilia; sometimes, perhaps more correctly, by both. *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* VI. 4. “Meridies ab eo quod medius dies. D antiqui non R in hoc loco dicebant, ut Præneste incisum in Solario vidi. Solarium dictum id, in quo horæ in sole inspiciebantur, quod Cornelius in Basilica Æmilia et Fulvia inumbravit.”

Ten years after the erection of the Basilica Fulvia, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus built the Basilica Sempronia, having purchased the house of Scipio Africanus for the purpose. (*Livy*, XLIV. 16.) This house stood behind the “old shops” of the Forum, near the statue of Vertumnus, which was at the head of the Vicus Tuscus. (*Propert.* IV. 11.)

The last Basilica of the republican period was the Opimia; it stood close to the Senaculum. *Varro* says,—“Senaculum supra Græcostasin, ubi ædis Concordiæ, et Basilica Opimia.” *De Ling. Lat.* V. 156. It was probably built at the same time with the shrine of Concord.

The temple of Castor and Pollux stood on the south side of the Forum, between the Basilica Sempronia, and the Temple of Vesta. (*Martial*, I. LXXII. 3. *Livy*, IX. 43.

II. 20. 42. *Ovid. Fast.* v 705—8. *Ex Pont.* II. II. 85.) Cicero, *Philipp.* vi. 5, says,—“In foro L. Antouii statuam tuam videmus, sicut illam Q. Tremuli, qui Hernicos “devicit, ante Castoris.” “Ο τε νεὼς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, “ὅν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευάσεν ἡ πόλις, ἔνθα ὤφθη “τὰ εἰδῶλα, καὶ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῷ κρήνη καλουμένη τε τῶν “θεῶν τούτων ἱερὰ καὶ εἰς τόνδε χρόνον νομιζομένη.” *Dionys. Halicar.* vi. 13.

Tiberius restored this temple. “Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem, item Pollucis et Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis.” *Sueton. Tiber. ch.* 20. Bibulus, the colleague of Julius Cæsar, said,—“evenisse sibi, quod Polluci; ut enim geminis fratribus ædes in Foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Cæsarisque munificentiam Cæsaris tantum dici.” *Sueton. Jul. Cæs.* 10. The three columns, now standing, which are so commonly supposed to have belonged to the temple of Jupiter Stator, may possibly have formed part of the temple of Castor; but excavation must settle the point, if it can be settled.

Close to the Temple of Castor, stood the famous Temple of Vesta. It was circular. There seems no reasonable ground for doubting that the modern church of *Sta Maria Liberatrice* occupies its site. Contiguous to it were the Regia, and Domus Regis. This temple is the most ancient monument of which any traces can be discovered in the existing ground of the Forum. “Upon the establishment of the republic,” says Bunsen, (*Les Forum de Rome*, 1837; *part. prem. p.* 33) “the sacerdotal functions, which the kings had discharged, were



"divided between the Pontifex Maximus and the Rex Sacrificulus. The ancient palace of Numa was assigned "as an official residence to these two priests, of whom "one, the Rex Sacrificulus, was subordinate to the other. "The residence of the Rex Sacrificulus preserved the "name of Regia; the residence of the other was called "Domus Regis." (M. Bunsen then proceeds to describe, with great minuteness, the relative positions of these buildings; but he has not produced his authorities; and in the absence of these, we cannot specify the positions with certainty.) The Regia\* was approached by an "atrium," called "Atrium Regium," or "Atrium Vestæ," inasmuch as it formed the entrance both to the Palace and Temple. (*Ovid. Fast.* vi. 263. iii. 417—426. *Trist.* iii. 1. 29. *Hor. Od.* i. ii. 13.) In the Penetræ of the Regia, the sacred fire was preserved. The temple was entirely destroyed in the fire of Nero. "Ædes Statoris Jovis vota Romulo, Numæque Regia, "et delubrum Vestæ, cum Penatibus Populi Romani "exusta." *Tacit. Annal.* xv. 41. But it must have been immediately rebuilt; for we find it existing again in the reign of Otho. "Piso in ædem Vestæ pervasit;" and a few lines after—"protractus Piso in foribus templi "trucidatur." *Tacit. Hist.* i. 43.

The arch of Fabius stood, as we have already seen, at the south-eastern angle of the Forum: it was built

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\* It is remarkable, that the kingly title was preserved in the priesthood, though it was proscribed as a political term, both at Rome and Athens; for it was the office of the Ἀρχὴν Βασιλέως to preside over the religion of the Athenian state.

by Q. Fabius Maximus, in honour of his conquest of the Allobroges, A. C. 123. It was surmounted by an equestrian statue of the conqueror. "Fornix Fabianus" arcus est juxta Regiam in Sacra Via, a Fabio Censore "constructus." *Asconius, in Cic. Orat. Verrin.* vi. 7. It was the oldest of the triumphal arches. Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. 66, attributes this jest to Crassus,—“Velut tu, Crasse, in concione, ita sibi ipsi magnum videri Memmium, ut, in forum descendens, caput ad fornicem Fabii demitteret.”

Such then were the buildings and aspect of the Forum, previous to the tumults which occurred at the death of Clodius, and in which the Curia Hostilia and Basilica Porcia were burnt down. After this, the Forum continued to undergo extensive and important changes, until it retained hardly any of its original features.

The Roman senate instantly resolved on rebuilding the Curia Hostilia; and Faustus, son of Sylla, was charged with the execution of the work; which was no sooner finished, however, than it was pulled down by the advice, or will, of Julius Cæsar. He was naturally anxious to destroy all associations connected with the ancient senate-house; and therefore desired to have it rebuilt in a different place. But he might not venture so far to offend popular feeling, as to remove the building altogether from the neighbourhood of the Forum. On the site of the old Curia, a temple to Good Fortune was built by Lepidus. After Cæsar's death, the Triumvirs built a Curia, called after him "Julia," on the opposite side of the Comitium. Au-

gustus consecrated this building. "Idem in Curia  
 "quoque, quam in Comitio consecrabat, duas tabulas  
 "impressit parieti." *Pliny, N.H. XXXV. iv. 10.* It must  
 have stood between the temples of Vesta and Castor, but  
 it was probably burnt down in the great fire of Nero,  
 and never rebuilt: it is not heard of in history, after  
 the reign of Caligula.

Julius Cæsar, in fact, planned a complete alteration  
 of the Forum: he rebuilt the Basilica Æmilia at an  
 enormous expense; opposite to it he built the Basilica  
 Julia: he removed the Rostra from its old place, and  
 set it up at about the centre of the southern side of  
 the Forum. The Triumvirs built the temple which bore  
 his name, at the eastern end of the Forum. Augustus  
 rebuilt the temple of Castor, and near it raised one  
 to Minerva.

The great fire in Nero's reign destroyed an immense  
 mass of the buildings on the southern side of the Forum;  
 Domitian, however, restored or rebuilt all that he found  
 injured or demolished. He placed the Senate-house  
 below the Tullianum, and removed the Rostra to the  
 western end of the Forum, immediately under the  
 Capitol: he placed a colossal equestrian statue of  
 himself on the site of the Lacus Curtius. The position  
 of this figure has fortunately been described with such  
 minuteness by Statius, *Sylv. I. i. 22*, that a quotation  
 at length of this invaluable passage will assist us greatly  
 in gaining a right idea of the aspect of the Forum:

'Par operi sedes; hinc obvia limina pandit  
 'Qui fessus bellis adscitæ munere prolis

'Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera divis.  
 'At laterum gressus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,  
 'Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli :  
 'Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.  
 'Ipse autem puro celsum caput aëre septus  
 'Templa superfulges, et prospectare videris  
 'An nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis  
 'Pulcrius : an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis,  
 'Atque exploratas jam laudet Vesta ministras.'

In the first three verses, the poet speaks of the temple of Julius Cæsar being exactly opposite to the statue; on the right of it was the Basilica Julia; on the left the Basilica Æmilia; in the rear were the Temples of Concord and Vespasian, the father of Domitian. The statue itself was of such gigantic height, that it is represented as looking over the buildings on its right, and surveying the works which Domitian was then carrying on, upon the Palatine hill; and in the same direction commanding a view of the Temple of Vesta. The head of the figure must, therefore, have inclined towards the right.

Pliny and Cicero speak of the Basilica Æmilia as a magnificent work. Pliny says, *N.H.* XXXVI. xv. 24—  
 "Nonne inter magnifica Basilicam Pauli columnis e  
 "Phrygibus mirabilem?"

Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, observes—"Paulus in  
 "medio foro Basilicam jam pæne texuit iisdem antiquis  
 "columnis; illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnifi-  
 "centissimam. Quid quæris? nihil gratius illo monu-  
 "mento, nihil gloriosius." *Ad Att.* iv. 16. This Basilica

was repaired by Lepidus in the reign of Tiberius. "Iisdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit, ut Basilicam "Pauli, Æmilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret "ornaretque." *Tacit. Annal.* III. 72. Plutarch says of Julius Cæsar—Παύλῳ δὲ ὑπάρῳ ὄντι χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δοντός, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκεῖνος, ὀνομαστόν ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσφοκοδόμησεν ἀντὶ τῆς Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν. *Jul. Cæs.* 29.

Cicero is generally supposed to mean that *two* Basilicas were built by Æmilius; but it is more probable that he pulled down and rebuilt the older Basilica, on a different plan, using however the same materials, which he incorporated with his new and much more magnificent structure. Certainly Plutarch speaks of the new Basilica as having being built "*in the place*" of the old, and only one Basilica Æmilia is subsequently spoken of in history.

The next building on the northern side of the Forum was the Temple of Good Fortune; of which, however, later history takes little or no notice.

The Forum was bounded at its north-eastern angle by the Temple of the elder Antoninus and Faustina. The portico fortunately still exists; and the following inscription is on the architrave and frieze;

DIVO · ANTONINO · ET  
DIVAE · FAVSTINAE · EX · S · C

It is generally admitted that the upper line of the inscription was added after the death of Antoninus; and that the temple was originally consecrated to Faustina alone: she died A. D. 141.

The temple of Julius Cæsar occupied the eastern side of the Forum, or, more properly speaking, the Comitium : it was approached by a flight of steps of considerable elevation. (*Ovid. ex Pont.* II. 11. 85. *Metam.* xv. 841.) Bunsen (*Les Forum, part I. p. 54*) thinks that this elevation was necessary, in consequence of the height of the Velian ridge, on which the back of the temple rested ; and on account of the old Tribunal, if it still existed, which stood directly in front, and would have interfered with the view of it. On these steps stood the Rostra Julia ; not to be confounded with the old Rostra, which Julius Cæsar had removed to the southern side of the Forum : for that both existed together, Suetonius plainly tells us, in his account of the funeral honours paid to Augustus :—" Verum, adhibito honoribus modo, " bifariam laudatus est ; pro æde D. Julii a Tiberio, et " pro Rostris Veteribus a Druso, Tiberii filio : ac sena- " torum humeris delatus in Campum, crematusque." *Octav.* 100.

The position of the Curia Julia, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, may be determined with tolerable precision. Propertius, in an Elegy full of important antiquarian knowledge, says, that it was built on the site of the Lacus Juturnæ (IV. iv. 13—18) : this must have been between the temples of Castor and Vesta ; and Pliny informs us that it was " in Comitio." The ' Monumentum Ancyranum ' says, that Augustus built " Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum : " and Dion Cassius enumerates amongst the works of Augustus τὸ τε Ἀθήναιον, καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον, καὶ τὸ

*Βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον.* LI. 22.\* These evidences and authorities combined, prove that the Curia Julia must have stood on the south side of the Comitium, opposite to the Temple of Good Fortune. The Temple of Minerva must have been attached to it—*continens ei*,—and behind it. M. Bunsen places the Temple of Minerva in front of the Comitium, and the Curia Julia in the rear; but this arrangement contradicts the statement of Pliny.

When this part of the Forum was restored by Domitian, he did not rebuild the Senate-house on the same ground, but probably raised it between the western side of the Basilica Æmilia, and the Capitoline Hill. On this spot we find the Senate-house standing, in later periods of the empire; and its removal can be attributed to no one, with so much reason, as to Domitian. The senate had for a long time been a dishonoured and contemptible body; and the Conscript Fathers probably witnessed the removal of their legislative chamber from the scene of its ancient glories, without a remonstrance or a sigh.

The Temple of Castor and Pollux has already been spoken of, and the position of the Basilica Julia proved by the authority of Statius; the site has been further

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\* I cannot doubt that the 'Chalcidicum' and 'temple of Minerva' mean only one building. The 'Monumentum Ancyranum' could hardly have omitted to mention it, had the fact been otherwise. M. Bunsen's proposed emendation, τὸ καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ὀνομασμένον, for καὶ τὸ, is very plausible. It gives greater meaning to the word ὀνομασμένον. If the Chalcidicum was a separate building, it is not easy to say why Dion should think it necessary to inform his reader that it was 'so called.' But it was very natural for him to speak of the Temple of Minerva, as being 'also called Chalcidicum.'

proved by the discovery of an inscription on the spot. (*Bunbury, Classical Museum, Vol. IV. p. 5.*)

The Imperial Græcostasis, or Hall of Reception for foreign ministers and ambassadors, is placed by M. Bunsen between the western side of the Basilica Julia, and the Vicus Jugarius.

We have now arrived at the western end of the Forum, and the adjoining slope of the Capitoline Hill. "Here" (says Mr. Bunbury,) "whatever excavation can effect, has been already achieved: the enormous accumulations of rubbish, which here, more than anywhere else, had concealed from view all that time had spared, have been entirely removed; and the result has been, not only to render the spot most striking and impressive to the lover of antiquity, but to clear up many topographical details, which would otherwise have been wholly lost." (*Classical Museum, Vol. IV. p. 24.*)

Three Temples occupied the end of the Forum, viz. those dedicated to Vespasian, Saturn, and Concord. The "Anonymus of Einsiedlen," who lived in the 8th century, saw these Temples standing entire, and he has preserved the inscriptions, which he read on all three. The following is an exact copy of the inscriptions, as given by the author:—

"SENATVS POPVLVSQ. ROMANVS INCENDIO CON-  
 "SVMPVTVM RESTITVIT DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO.  
 "S.P.Q.R. IMP. CAESS. SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS PII  
 "FELIC. AVG. RESTITVERVNT. S. P. Q. R. AEDM



"CONCORDIÆ VETVSTATE CONLAPSAM IN MELIOREM  
 "FACIEM OPERE ET CVLTV SPLENDIDIORE RESTITV-  
 "BEVNT."

The southernmost of the three temples was that of Vespasian : a portico of eight granite columns is still standing, and on the architrave is this inscription :

SENATVS · POPVLVSQVE · ROMANVS · INCENDIO · CONSVMPTVM  
 RESTITVIT

The restoration must have taken place at a period when all science and taste in architecture were lost. Mr. Burgess (who however erroneously supposes the ruins to have formed part of the Temple of Fortune,) describes the irregularities and barbarisms observable in the remains. (*Vol. I. p. 411.*) Suetonius says of Domitian,—“Plurima et amplissima opera, incendio  
 “absumpta, restituit; in quib et Capitolium, quod rursus  
 “arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo, ac sine ulla  
 “pristini auctoris memoria. Novam autem excitavit  
 “ædem in Capitolio Custodi Jovi, et forum, quod nunc  
 “Nervæ vocatur: item *Flaviæ templum gentis*, et sta-  
 “dium, et odeum, et naumachiam; e cujus postea  
 “lapide Maximus Circus, deustis utrinque lateribus,  
 “exstructus est.” *Domit. v.*

The temple was struck by lightning; one of the omens which Domitian regarded with such superstitious dismay, as portending his death. “Tactum de cælo  
 “Capitolium, templamque *Flaviæ gentis*; item domus  
 “Palatina, et cubiculum ipsius; atque etiam e basi  
 “status triumphalis titulus, excussus vi procellæ, in

“monimentum proximum decidit.” *Sueton. Domit.* 15.

The Temple of Vespasian did not stand exactly behind the equestrian figure of Domitian, but sufficiently so to justify the expression of Statius “Terga pater videt.”

The Temple of Saturn was one of the most ancient and venerable buildings of Rome : it was used as the public treasury. Lucan (III. 114—153) describes the scene which took place when Julius Cæsar rifled this building. Within this temple was also the “*ærarium sanctius*,” or treasury of reserve, which was only to be touched on occasions of great emergency : this was most probably kept in vaults under the Tabularium, with which building the Temple of Saturn was connected by subterranean communication. M. Bunsen thinks that the entrance to these vaults may be traced between the Temples of Saturn and Concord. (*Le Forum Romanum*, 1835, p. 11.) Lucan’s expression, “*imo templo*,” affords strong confirmation to this opinion. In 1820 the base of a votive altar was found in the passage between these temples, with the following inscription :

DIVAE • PIAE

FAVSTINAE

VIATOR • Q

AB • AER • SAT.

These latter words mean ‘Quæstoris ab ærario Saturni.’

The ‘*ærarium sanctius*’ is mentioned by Livy, (xxvii. 10.) Cæsar, *De Bello Civ.* i. 14. says,—“Cum Lentulus Consul ad aperiendum ærarium venisset, ad pecuniam Pompeio ex S.C. proferendam, protinus, aperto sancti-ore ærario, ex urbe profugeret.” *Cicero ad Att.* vii.

21—"Attulit (Cassius) mandata ad consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore ærario auferrent."

The temple of Saturn was rebuilt by Munatius Plancus, A. C. 16. Servius, *ad Æn.* II. 116, describes its position:—"Orestis vero ossa ab Aritia Romam translata posita sunt et condita ante templum Saturni, quod est ante clivum Capitolini, juxta Concordiæ templum." Varro corroborates this;—"Hunc antea montem (*sc.* Capitolinum) Saturnium appellatum prodiderunt, et ab eo 'late Saturniam terram,' ut etiam Ennius appellat. Antiquum oppidum in hoc fuisse Saturnia scribitur. Ejus vestigia etiam nunc manent tria; quod Saturni fanum in faucibus (*i. e.* Capitolii); quod Saturnia porta, quam Junius scribit ibi, quam nunc vocant Pandanam: quod post ædem Saturni, in ædificiorum legibus privatis parietes 'postici muri' sunt scripti." *De Ling. Lat.* v. 42. (*Livy*, xli. 27.)\* καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς Ἑπειοὺς ἰδρύσασθαι μεθ' Ἡρακλέους, ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῇ ῥίζῃ τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. *Dion. Halicarn.* 1. 34. The ruins of this temple have been generally mistaken for those of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans.

Close to the Temple of Saturn stood the Triumphal Arch of Tiberius, raised by him in commemoration of his recovery of the standards which had been lost with Varus. "Fine anni (A. D. 16.) arcus propter ædem

\* The passage in Livy here referred to is obscure, and probably corrupt. By reading 'in Capitolio et Senaculum,' for 'in Capitolium ad Senaculum,' we get an intelligible, if not a perfectly satisfactory, meaning.

"Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa, ductu  
 "Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii—dicatur." *Tacitus, Annal.*  
 II. 41.

The Temple of Concord was originally built by Camillus, to commemorate the establishment of concord between the patrician and plebeian factions; a result which had been effected by the admission of the claim of the Plebs to the privilege of holding the consulship. It was subsequently consecrated by Tiberius, as we have already seen; but it was probably rebuilt by Augustus: about its position there is no doubt. In the course of the excavations which have completely exposed its ruins to view, several inscriptions have been discovered, which are decisive on the matter: one of them is as follows;—

M · ARTORIUS · GEMINUS  
 LEG · CAESAR · AUG · PRAEF · AERAR · MTL  
 CONCORDIAE.

"Concitati a L. Cassio tribuno plebis pro æde Concordiæ sacrificium facientem, (*sc.* Sempronium Asellionem) ab ipsis altaribus fugere extra forum coactum—discerpserunt." *Valerius Maximus*, IX. vii. 4. Cicero assembled the senate in the Temple of Concord, when he produced Vulturcius and others to prove the Catilinarian conspiracy. *In Catilin.* III. 9,—*"Cum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in ædem Concordiæ ducerentur."* "Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens, in senatum perducit: reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet: eo senatum advocat." *Salust. Bell. Catilin.* XLVI.

Immediately behind the Temples of Saturn and Concord stood a vast range of building, called the Tabularium: it served as a record-office, a state-paper-office, and a treasury: it was sometimes called "ærarium." Suetonius, on the authority of Julius Marathus, says, that a few months before the birth of Augustus, a prodigy forewarned them, that a king of Rome was about to be produced; and that the senate decreed that no child born that year should be reared; but that the men, whose wives were pregnant, "quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus-consultum *"ad ærarium deferretur."* Octav. 94. "Igitur factum *"senatus-consultum ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad ærarium deferrentur."* Tacitus, *Annal.* III. 51. The Tabularium was built by Q. Lutatius Catulus, the year after the death of Sylla, A.C. 77. Pope Nicholas V. used the vaults of this building for a salt magazine; and Andreas Fulvio, in the 6th century, copied an inscription, which then existed on these walls, much corroded with salt:

Q · LVTATIVS · Q · F · Q · N · CATVLVS · COS · SUBSTRTCTIONEM  
ET · TABVLARIVM · DE · S · S · FACIVNDVM  
CAERAV.

The building was burnt down in the Vitellian tumult, but was restored by Vespasian. "Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; vacuas areas occupare, et ædificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicunque permisit. Ipse, restitutionem Capitolii aggressus, rudibus purgandis primas manus admovit, ac suo collo quædam extulit: ærearumque tabularum tria millia,

“quæ simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit, undique investigatis exemplaribus; instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur pæne ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebis scita, de societate, et fœdere, ac privilegio, cuicunque concessis.” *Suetonius, Vespas.* 8.

Immediately beyond, and to the right of the Temple of Concord, was the famous prison, called in the middle ages Carcer Mamertinus; but the classical name for it is Tullianum. Ancus Marcius originally constructed it; Servius Tullius added a lower dungeon, called properly Tullianum: hence the expression *demitti in carcerem*. (*Livy*, I. 33. XXXIV. 44. *Juvenal*, III. 312.) *Varro de Ling. Lat.* v. 151,—“Carcer a coercendo, quod exire inclusi prohibentur. In hoc pars quæ sub terra, Tullianum: ideo quod additum a Tullio rege.” *Sallust. Bell. Catilin.* 55,—“Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit cæteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascendens ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore, fœda atque terribilis ejus facies. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere.” In this dungeon many a captive general and monarch, after having been dragged in triumph, was put to death either by strangling or starvation.

It is not known why this prison was called Mamertine; but it may have got the name from its first builder,

Ancus Marcius ; for Mamertinus is but another form of Martius, as Mamers is of Mars.

Immediately on the right of the Tullianum stood the renowned Janus Geminus of Numa. Its position is plainly indicated by Ovid, (*Fast* 1. 257—276) who also speaks of the sulphureous fountain, which the god Janus was supposed to have produced there. “Lautolæ  
“a lavando, quod ibi ad Janum Geminum aquæ caldæ  
“fuerunt.” *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 156. Procopius says of Janus,—“ἔχει δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ  
“βουλευτηρίου, ὅληγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ τρία Φᾶτα. οὕτω  
“γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοίρας νενομίκασι.” *De Bell. Goth.*  
I. 25.

By the *βουλευτήριον* he of course means the Senate-house built by Domitian, which stood between the Janus and the Basilica Æmilia. By the *τρία Φᾶτα* he probably means the western end of the Forum : it had gained that name from the statues of the three Sibyls, which had been removed (probably by Domitian) from their original place near the republican Rostra, to the neighbourhood of the Rostra Flavia. The gate of Janus was originally the gate that led to the Arx on the Capitol. There were several Jani in the Forum, (*Hor. Epist.* I. 1. 54. *Sat.* II. III. 18 ;) but they must not be confounded with the famous gate of Numa, the opening or shutting of which was the index of war, or peace.

The site of the “Senatus” of Domitian is now occupied by the Church of *Sta. Martina*. The triumphal arch of M. Aurelius stood near the Janus Geminus.

Immediately to the left of the triumphal arch of

Septimus Severus, and below the Temple of Concord, stood the Milliarium Aureum : it had a circular base, which has been brought to light by excavation. It was a gilded pillar, set up by Augustus, with the distances from Rome to every principal city in the Roman empire marked upon it ; the distances were not *measured* from this "milliarium," but from the several gates of the city. Tacitus says of Otho,—*"Innixus liberto, per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad Milliarium aureum, sub ædem Saturni, pergit."* *Hist.* i. 27. The milliarium appears now rather more under the Temple of Concord, than under that of Saturn ; but it is possible that the alterations of the western end of the Forum required a trifling alteration of the position of the pillar. *"Præmonitis consciis ut se in foro sub æde Saturni ad milliarium aureum opperirentur."* *Suetonius, Otho* 6. *"Ejusdem spatium, mensura currente a milliario in capite Romani fori statuto, ad singulas portas quæ sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut duodecim semel numerentur, prætereanturque ex veteribus septem, quæ esse desierunt."* *Pliny, N. H.* iii. 9. Some ruins have been discovered immediately to the south of the Milliarium. M. Bunsen, with much apparent reason, calls them the remains of the Rostra Flavia, which he supposes Domitian to have built. (*Les Forum, part. prem. p.* 54—57.)

The last monument that we know to have been erected in the Roman Forum, is the column raised by Smaragdus, exarch of Italy, A. D. 608, in honour of the Byzantine emperor Phocas ; one of the greatest monsters that ever



disgraced human nature. (*Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. 46. Burgess, Vol. I. p. 396.*)

The Atrium Libertatis stood in the rear of the Basilica Æmilia: its position is determined by a passage in Cicero, from which an extract has been already made. In the same letter, in which he speaks of the Basilica Æmilia, he says,—“Itaque Cæsaris amici (me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud, “quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, *ut forum laxaremus, “et usque ad Atrium Libertatis explicaremus*, contempsimus sexcenties HS. Cum privatis non poterat transigi “minore pecunia.” *Ad Att. iv. 16.* However obscure the rest of the passage may be, it fixes the position of the Atrium Libertatis. It was a building raised for the purpose of preserving public records, and was under the care of the Censors. (*Livy, xxv. 7; xxxiv. 44.*)

The only remaining building, in the neighbourhood of the Forum Romanum, which requires notice, is the Ædes Penatium. It was circular, and stood at a short distance to the east of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and to the north of the temple of Julius Cæsar. M. Bunsen is probably right in his opinion, that the modern church of *SS. Cosmas and Damiano* occupy the site of that ancient sanctuary. It is described, by various writers, as situated “in Velia.” “Veliense sexticeps in Velia, apud ædem Deum Penatium.” *Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 54.* “Tullum Hostilium “in Veliis, ubi nunc est ædis Deum Penatium.” *Varro, apud Non. xii. 51.* “Tullus Hostilius in Velia, ubi “postea ædis Deum Penatium facta est.” *Solinus, i. 22. (Livy, xlv. 16.)*

THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS, AND ADJACENT  
BUILDINGS.

The Forum Romanum is so full of historical importance and interest, that considerable detail in the description of it was justified and demanded: and the progress of excavation, together with the application of the true and only secure method of proceeding in the matter, *viz.* the diligent investigation and comparison of ancient writings,—have been so successful, that we may consider the great and essential points in the topography of the Forum to be fixed on an immovable foundation. But the case is very different, when we come to describe the Imperial Fora. It must be admitted, that we cannot yet be said to tread safely over this ground. I cannot do better than quote the remarks of Mr. Bunbury on this subject. “We have seen,” he says, “that the Roman Forum had undergone no change “in its position or extent, from the earliest times to “the end of the republican period. It had indeed “long ceased to be the scene where the Comitia for the “election of magistrates were held; but it must still “have been found very inadequate for the various “purposes, which it was destined to serve, when the “population of the city, and the amount of judicial “business transacted at Rome, had increased to so “enormous an extent. The pressure of the latter evil “had been indeed considerably lightened by the construction of the numerous Basilicas already men-

tioned, but it was nevertheless severely felt; and hence, among the various plans early devised by Julius Cæsar, for the improvement of the city, was that of the construction of a new Forum, which should be wholly and exclusively devoted to judicial objects. This work, though apparently commenced by him before the breaking out of the civil war, was not completed at the time of his death, but was terminated, together with many other of his plans, by Augustus. Not many years, however, elapsed, before the new master of the Roman world found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessor: and Augustus himself constructed a third Forum, destined, like that of Cæsar, for judicial, and not for political purposes, and surpassing that of the dictator both in extent and magnificence. Both these new structures were adorned with splendid temples; the one dedicated by Cæsar to Venus Genetrix, the reputed parent of the Julian family; the other, by Augustus, to Mars Ultor, the avenging deity, who had aided him on the plains of Philippi.

It was some time before the example thus set was again followed. Domitian appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of connecting these two Fora with the noble structure of the Temple of Peace, already erected by his father, so as to combine them into one magnificent whole: perhaps also he already entertained the project of continuing the series, in the direction of the Campus Martius. But he lived to accomplish only a small part of this extensive scheme,

“ which was however carried out by his immediate successors, in a manner probably exceeding all that he had contemplated. A small Forum, which he had himself nearly completed, was consecrated by Nerva, whose name it consequently bore, though frequently distinguished also as the Forum Palladis, or Palladium, from a temple of Minerva, which formed its most conspicuous ornament. But all former works of this kind were altogether eclipsed by the magnificent Forum of Trajan, which extended from that of Augustus, between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, until it almost joined the great works of Cæsar and Agrippa in the Campus Martius.

“ Such was the extent of this crowning glory of the imperial magnificence, that the church of St. Peter's, and the Coliseum, might both have found place within its precincts. Yet the area thus appropriated had in part to be gained by cutting down the surrounding hills; and immense obstructions on both sides, but especially on that of the Quirinal, attest at the present day the extent of these gigantic labours.

“ The series of magnificent structures thus raised by successive emperors has probably never been surpassed in point of architectural splendour; but they are of comparatively little interest to the scholar, from the absence of all those ennobling associations which have hallowed the precincts of the republican Forum. Still, they formed so important a feature in the imperial city, and the ruins of them remaining at the present day will necessarily attract so much of the attention

"of every one who visits Rome, that it is impossible to "pass them over without examination." *Classical Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 117—119.

M. Bunsen has restored these Fora according to a plan, of which the reader has a copy, though on a very reduced scale, in the map. M. Bunsen's arrangement is in several particulars liable to grave objection; but it gives a general, and at the same time so grand, an idea of the Fora, that it seemed advisable to reproduce it.

In the passage already referred to in Ovid (*Fast.* i. 257,) it is stated that the Janus Geminus united "two "Fora." The position of the Forum of Augustus is universally agreed on: all antiquarians regard the ruins now standing near the *Arco dei Pantani*, as the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, which stood in that Forum. Suetonius specifies his "Forum, cum sede "Martis Ultoris," amongst the principal works of Augustus. (*Octav.* 29.) The limits of this Forum, towards the west, are not precisely known; but it seems certain that it did not extend to the Forum Romanum; consequently it was not one of the two Fora, which ran into each other at the Janus. From Cicero's expression already quoted, "ut Forum laxaremus, et usque ad "Atrium Libertatis explicaremus," it would seem that the rebuilding of the Basilica Æmilia, on its enlarged scale, formed part of a plan for *extending the Forum in that direction*. Julius Cæsar furnished the money for that Basilica, and himself subsequently built a Forum.

It would, then, be in harmony and fulfilment of what we may fairly presume to have been his plan, if he

built his Forum beyond this Basilica. The Forum of Augustus, built where we know it was, would then form a proper continuation of the Forum of Julius Cæsar: it would seem, therefore, most reasonable—almost necessary—to place the Forum of Cæsar between the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Augustus; and here M. Canina has accordingly placed it; but M. Bunsen, as may be seen by reference to his plan, has not adopted this idea.

Domitian, as we have already seen, began a Forum, which was finished by Nerva, and called by his name: it was also called the Forum Palladium, (*Martial*, l. II. 8.) from a temple of Minerva, which stood in it; and “Pervium,” or “Transitorium,” because there was a street through it, whereas the other Imperial Fora had no street through them. It is very reasonable to suppose that a public thoroughfare was necessary, to allow a free communication between the Forum Romanum and the Subura; for otherwise the buildings, which the emperors were gradually raising, must have blocked up the passage between these populous and important districts. The Forum Nervæ must have stood at the southern side of the Forum Augusti. *Ælius Lempridius*, in his life of Alexander Severus, *Cap.* 28, says,—“Statuas colossas, in foro Divi Nervæ, “quod Transitorium dicitur, locavit.” And *Aurelius Victor*, *de Cæsaribus*, 12, has these words,—“Nervæ “semet imperio abdicavit, dedicato prius foro, quod “appellatur Pervium, quo ædis Minervæ eminentior “consurgit, et magnificentior.” (*Vid. Bunbury, Classical Museum, Vol. IV. p. 123.*)

To the North of the Forum Augusti was built the Forum Trajani. It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed description of this wonderful combination of architecture and art. The pillar of Trajan fortunately still survives, to tell its own story, and to point out the site of the Forum in which it stood.\*

Vespasian built a Temple of Peace, which Suetonius says was close to the Forum. "Fecit et nova opera, "templum Pacis foro proximum." *Vespas.* 9. It was erected at the conclusion of the Jewish war, and was of surpassing grandeur.

The temple was struck by lightning, and wholly destroyed, in the reign of Commodus, A.D. 191, nor was it ever rebuilt; but it stood in an open enclosure, which survived the fire; it must have resembled the Imperial Fora, in its general character. Ammianus Marcellinus (*lib.* xvi. *ch.* 10) speaks of the "Forum of Peace," but makes no mention of a temple of that name.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the ground which was probably occupied by the Temple of Peace, there stand some colossal ruins, now generally admitted to be the remains of the Basilica of Maxentius. M. Bunsen indeed imagines that this building was raised on the site of the Temple of Peace, and that the whole enclosure was called the "Forum of Peace:" it is an ingenious theory, but requires confirmation.

In the absence of corroborating proof, it is safer to conclude that the Basilica of Maxentius stood between

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\* The forum and column of Trajan have been very minutely described by Mr. Burgess, *Vol.* II. *p.* 8.

the Temple of Peace, and the Temple of Venus and Rome. Maxentius built it, but the senate afterwards dedicated it to Constantine, who finished it. Aurelius Victor says, *de Cæs. ch.* 40,—“Adhuc cuncta opera  
 “quæ magnifice construxerat (Maxentius) urbis Fanum,  
 “atque Basilicam, Flavii (i.e. Constantini) meritis Patres  
 “sacravere.” In 1828 a gold medal of Maxentius was discovered in these ruins,—a strong confirmation of the opinion that they formed part of his Basilica.

Adjoining to this building stood the Temple of Venus and Rome. No doubt exists as to its position and identity: its substructions reached from a point near the “Meta Sudans,” to the Arch of Titus, comprising all the space occupied by the modern church and monastery of *S. Francesca Romana*: it was perhaps the grandest of all the Roman temples; considerable ruins of it still exist, to attest its former magnificence: it was built by Hadrian, A. D. 130. It seems to have been called indifferently the “Temple of Venus,” the “Temple of the City,” and the “Temple of Venus and Rome.” Prudentius has an important passage on this subject:—

‘At Sacram resonare Viam mugitibus ante  
 ‘Delubrum Romæ, colitur nam sanguine et ipsa  
 ‘More Dææ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur,  
 ‘Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt  
 ‘Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.’

*Cont. Symmach. lib. I. 214.*

Mr. Burgess (*Vol. I. p.* 265,) has given a minute and interesting description and plan of this temple.



The Colossus of Nero stood nigh : it was 120—according to Pliny 110—feet in height, and stood in the vestibule of Nero's golden house. Suetonius says of that emperor,—“Non in alia re tamen dam-  
 “nosior, quam in ædificando. Domum a Palatio  
 “Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo ‘Transitoriam,’  
 “mox, incendio absumptam restitutamque, ‘Auream’  
 “nominavit. De cujus spatio atque cultu suffecerit  
 “hæc retulisse. Vestibulum ejus fuit in quo Colossus  
 “centum viginti pedum staret ipsius effigie.” *Nero*, 31. It is not certain whether the statue was of marble or of bronze: Zenodorus made it. From a passage in Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 18, some antiquarians have concluded that it was of marble:—“Romam accitus est  
 “(Zenodorus) a Nerone, ubi destinatum illius principis  
 “simulacrum colossum fecit, ex pedum longitudine, qui  
 “dicatus Solis venerationi est, damnatis sceleribus illius  
 “Principis. Mirabamur in officina non modo ex argilla  
 “similitudinem insignem, verum et ex parvis admodum  
 “surculis, quod primum operis instar fuit. Ea statua in-  
 “dicavit interisse fundendi æris scientiam, cum et Nero  
 “largiri aurum argentumque paratus esset, et Zenodorus  
 “scientia fingendi cælandique nulli veterum postpone-  
 “retur.” Winkelman, however, thinks the statue was of bronze. Pliny certainly cannot mean to say that the statue was marble, *because* the art of casting bronze was entirely lost: such a statement would be contrary to fact. Martial calls it ‘*sidereus* Colossus,’ and ‘*radia-  
 ‘atus*,’ (*Spectac.* II. 1. *Epigr. lib.* I. LXXI. 3) because

Vespasian added rays to the head. Commodus subsequently took off the head of Nero, and substituted his own.

Beyond this was the "Meta Sudans : " it was a fountain, probably supplied with water from the reservoir of Nero, on the neighbouring Cœlian Hill ; excavations have laid the plan of the fountain open to view. There is a cavity still visible, up which the water was conveyed by its own pressure, and played from the summit. It is worth while to observe this, because it has commonly, but most erroneously, been supposed that the Romans were not acquainted with the fact, that water finds its level. The fountain was built by Titus, and was called " Sudans," either because it produced a perpetual cascade of foaming water, or because it furnished draughts of water to the " sweating " multitudes who thronged the games of the Colosseum. It was called " Meta," from its resemblance to a Meta in a circus.

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## THE HILLS OF ROME.

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It will be requisite to take some notice of the buildings which occupied the Seven famous Hills. The Capitol claims our first attention. The Capitoline Hill was divided into two principal parts, the—Arx, and the Capitolium : the Arx occupied the northern summit, and the Capitolium the southern ;\* the intermediate space was called, at least in later ages, Intermontium. The Asylum of Romulus was supposed to have occupied this space, and a small spot of ground in later times was enclosed by a wall, to prevent malefactors from taking refuge in its sacred precincts. The Asylum stood between “two groves,” according to Livy (1. 8), and the “Lucus Asyli” is mentioned as still existent by Tacitus, who, in describing the destruction of the Capitol, in the reign of Vitellius, says,—“Tum diversos Capitolii aditus “invadunt, juxta lucum Asyli, et qua Tarpeia rupes

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\* It is not necessary to bestow further notice on the error of those who *reverse* the position of the Arx and Capitolium, putting the Arx on the southern, and the Capitolium on the northern extremity. All historical passages, of creditable authority, are reconcilable with the relative position of the two, as laid down in the map ; whereas many passages are scarcely intelligible on the opposite hypothesis. Neither do I think it worth while to discuss the erroneous theory of those, who *confound* the Arx and Capitolium.

"centum gradibus aditur. Improvisa utraque vis : pro-  
"pior atque acrior per Asylum ingruerat." *Hist.* III. 71.

The south-eastern extremity of the Capitol formed the famous Tarpeian rock. The Capitol itself was of course *an arx* ; Virgil calls all the hills of Rome "*arces*." (*Æn.* VI. 784.) But it was different and distinct from the *Arx*. Cicero, in his last speech against Catiline, says to the Senate,—"*Vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis :—vobis Arcem, et Capitolium.... commendat.*" *In Catilin.* IV. 9. (*Livy*, II. 49. III. 18. IV. 45. V. 39. VIII. 37. XXVI. 9.)

The Capitol was founded by the Etruscan king Tarquinius Priscus, and was the centre of the Etruscan religion ; whereas the *Arx* was the citadel of the Sabines, and represented the Sabine religion. "*Ubi nunc est Roma, erat olim septimontium, nominatum ab tot montibus, quos postea urbs muris comprehendit. E quibus Capitolium dictum, quod hic, quom fundamenta foderentur ædis Jovis, caput humanum dicitur inventum. Hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus a virgine Vestale Tarpeia, quæ ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta ; quocius nominis monimentum relictum, quod etiam nunc ejus rupes Tarpeium appellatur saxum.*" *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* V. 41.

The Capitolium contained the famous temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus : under the same roof were the cells of Juno and Minerva, whose worship was associated with that of the great "father of gods and men." Tacitus gives a history of this temple (*Hist.* III. 72.) in the same chapter in which he laments its

destruction with such eloquent indignation. (*Hor. Od.* I. XII. 19. *Livy*, III. 17. VI. 29.) "Sabinum et reliquos "Flavianos, nihil jam metuentes, vi subita in Capitolium "compulit (Vitellius,) succensoque templo Jovis Optimi "Maximi oppressit." *Suetonius, Vitell.* 15. We have seen that Vespasian rebuilt the temple; but it was soon burnt down again: it was again, and finally, raised with increased magnificence by Domitian. A vast number of smaller temples stood also on the Capitol: amongst others, that of Jupiter Feretrius, (*Livy*, I. 10) which was probably a mere chapel. The same may be said of the temples to Fides, Venus Erycina, Venus Victrix, and that raised by Augustus to Mars Ultor. The temple of Jupiter Tonans must have been a building of greater importance. Suetonius says,— "Tonanti "Jovi ædem consecravit (Augustus,) liberatus periculo, "cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecti- "cam ejus fulgur præstrinxisset, servumque prælucentem "exanimasset." *Octav.* 29. The same writer tells us the temple was in the Capitol,— "Cum dedicatam in Capitolio "ædem Tonanti Jovi assidue frequentaret." *Ibid.* 91. Here also Domitian built a temple to Jupiter Custos, in gratitude for his preservation during the destruction of the Capitol by the troops of Vitellius. "Imperium "adeptus Jovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu "Dei sacravit." *Tacitus, Hist.* III. 74. Here also was the Curia Calabra, where the Pontiffs proclaimed, on the first day of every month, the order of the calendar for that month. "Calabra Curia dicebatur, ubi tantum ratio "sacrorum gerebatur." *Festus, in v. 'Curia.'* "Multa

"societas verborum, nec Vinalia sine vino expediri, nec  
 "Calabra sine calatione potest aperiri." *Varro, de Ling.*  
*Lat.* v. 13. "Primi dies mensium nominati Calendæ ab  
 "eo, quod his diebus calantur ejus mensis Nonæ a ponti-  
 "ficibus, quintanæ an septimanæ sint futuræ, in Capi-  
 "tolio in Curia Calabra sic: 'Dies te quinque calo Juno  
 "'Covella. Septem dies te calo Juno Covella.'" *Id.* vi. 27.  
 (*Vid. Müller, ad loc.*) Close to the Curia stood the  
 Casa Romuli, a straw-thatched hut, preserved as a  
 memorial of the humble origin of the imperial city.  
 (*Livy*, v. 53.)\*

In the Arx was a temple of Juno Moneta, connected  
 with which was the Officina Monetæ, or Mint; which  
 however, was transferred, at some later time, to the  
 neighbourhood of the Colosseum. (*Livy*, vi. 20. vii. 28.  
*Ovid. Fast.* i. 637.) Here also was the Auguraculum.  
*Festus* says,—“Auguraculum appellabant antiqui, quam  
 “nos arcem dicimus, quod ibi augures publice [publici,  
 “*Müller*] auspicarentur.” And a temple of Concord  
 was built here in the second Punic War. (*Livy*, xxi. 33.)

The Palatine Hill was the cradle of infant Rome, the  
 place where Romulus dwelt in a thatched cottage, and  
 the abode of the Emperors, when the city had reached  
 the height of its magnificence. The origin of the name  
 is traced by Virgil (*Æn.* viii. 51. *Livy*, i. 5.) to Evander.  
*Varro* says,—“Quartæ regionis Palatium, quod Palan-

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\* In a passage already referred to, *Livy* (xli. 27) is supposed, by some,  
 to speak of a '*Senaculum*' in the Capitol: but it is impossible to accept  
 a conclusion drawn from such doubtful and difficult words.

“*tieis* (*i. e. Παλαντιείς, Müller*) cum Evandro venerunt, aut quod Palatini Aborigines ex agro Reatino, qui appellatur Palatium, ibi consederunt. Sed hoc alii a Palanto uxore Latini putarunt; eundem hunc locum a pecore dictum putant quidam: itaque Nævius Balatium appellat. Huic Germalum et Velias conjunxerunt, quod in hac regione scriptum est:

‘Germalense quinticeps apud ædem Romuli:’

“et,

‘Veliense sexticeps in Velia apud ædem deum Penatium.’

“Germalum a germanis Romulo et Remo, quod ad ficum Ruminalem ibi inventi, quo aqua iberna Tiberis eos detulerat in alveolo expositos. Velie unde essent, plurimas accepi causas, in quibus quod ibi pastores Palatini ex ovibus ante tonsuram inventam vellere lanam sint soliti, a quo vellera dicuntur.” *De Ling. Lat.* v. 53. “Palatium, id est mons Romæ, appellatus est, quod ibi pecus pascens balare consueverit, vel quod palare, id est errare, ibi pecudes solerent: alii, quod ibi Hyperborei filia Palanto habitaverit, quæ ex Hercule Latinum peperit: alii eundem, quod Pallas ibi sepultus sit, æstimant appellari.” *Festus, in voc. ‘Palatium.’* “Cermalus, locus in urbe sic nominatus.” *Festus, in voc. ‘Cermalus.’*

The precise spot where the twins were discovered was marked by the Ficus Ruminalis; and the Lupercal was the grotto dedicated to Pan, under which the she-wolf nursed them. (*Livy*, i. 5.) The position of the Lupercal is clearly pointed out by Dionysius Hali-

carnassensis—"τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβάς ἐκδίδεται, τῷ Παλαυτίῳ προσωκοδομημένον δέκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν. 1. 79. By the "road to the Circus," Dionysius certainly meant the road leading from the Forum; and the Germalus may be confidently placed at the north-western corner of the Palatine Hill, at the spot, in fact, where the overflowing waters of the Tiber would probably have landed the cradle. (*Ovid. Fast.* 11. 381, *seq.*) Lower down, on the western side of the Palatine Hill, stood the Ara Consi. "Consualia dicta a Conso, quod tum feriæ publicæ ei deo, et in Circo ad aram ejus ab sacerdotibus ludi illi quibus virgines Sabinæ raptæ." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* vi. 20. "Consualia ludi dicebantur, quos in honorem Consi faciebant, quem deum consilii putabant." *Festus, in voc. 'Consualia.'* Others think that Consus was a name of Neptunus Equestris. (*Livy*, 1. 9. *Ovid. Fast.* 111. 199.)

The Palatine Hill became, in the later ages of the republic, the most fashionable place of residence in Rome. Catullus, the colleague and victim of Marius, Cicero, Crassus, Tiberius Nero, Mark Antony, Agrippa, Messala, all inhabited the Palatium. Augustus, soon after he had gained supreme power, left the house in which he had hitherto dwelt, "near the Forum," and bought the house of Hortensius on the Palatine Hill, which from that time became the residence of the Roman emperors. "Habitavit primo juxta Romanum forum, supra 'Scalas Annularias,' in domo quæ Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio; sed nihilominus ædibus



“modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu  
 “conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Alba-  
 “narum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni  
 “pavimento conclavia.” *Suetonius, Octav.* 72. Tiberius  
 added to the palace of Augustus, or raised an entirely  
 new building: it must have been on the western side of  
 the hill, for Tacitus, describing Otho’s attack on Galba,  
 says, that he went “per Tiberianam domum in Vela-  
 “brum, inde in milliarium Aureum.” *Hist.* i. 27. Sue-  
 tonius, describing the same transaction, says that Otho  
 “proripuit se postica parte Palatii ad constitutum.”  
 Caligula added still further to these imperial buildings,  
 which he united to the Capitol by a bridge. “Super  
 “templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium  
 “Capitoliumque conjunxit.” *Sueton. Calig.* 22. Livia  
 built this temple to Augustus, which must have stood  
 on the slope of the Palatine Hill, towards the Forum.

Pliny says of the buildings of Caligula and Nero,  
 “Bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum  
 “Caii et Neronis, et hujus quidem (ne quid deesset)  
 “aurea.” *N. H.* xxxvi. 15. Augustus, as we have already  
 seen, built the famous Palatine Temple of Apollo, to  
 which Horace makes such constant reference. (*Epist.* I.  
 iii. 17. II. ii. 94. *Sat.* I. iv. 21. *Od.* I. xxxi. *Ovid. Trist.*  
 III. i. 59. *Propert.* IV. vi. 11.) It probably stood on the  
 eastern side of the hill: but in the dreadful fire of Nero,  
 the greater part, if not the whole, of the buildings on  
 the Palatine Hill, were destroyed; that emperor re-  
 placed them by his enormous “golden house.” This  
 again was reduced by Vespasian and Titus to the limits

of the Palatine; and Domitian's palatial buildings did not extend beyond the same hill. Of all the ruins which now cover the Palatine Hill, none can be assigned with certainty to any particular building, except those at the southern extremity, which formed part of the Septizonium of Septimius Severus.

The Aventine Hill was for several centuries not included within the pomerium of the city: it was the stronghold of the plebs—the *Faubourg St. Antoine* of Rome, “Aventinum aliquot de causis dicunt: Nævius ab avibus, quod eo se ab Tiberi ferrent aves: “alii ab rege Aventino Albano, quod ibi sit sepultus: “alii Adventinum, ab adventu hominum, quod commune Latinorum ibi Dianæ templum sit constitutum. “Ego maxime puto, quod ab advectu: nam olim “paludibus mons erat ab reliquis disclusus: itaque eo “ex urbe vehebantur ratibus: quous vestigia, quod ea, “qua tum vehebantur, etiam nunc dicitur Velabrum, “et unde escendebant ad infimam Novam Viam locus “Sacellum Velabrum. Velabrum a vehendo. Velaturationem facere etiam nunc dicuntur, qui id mercede “faciunt.” *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 43. “Aventinus “mons intra urbem dictus est, quod ibi rex Albanorum “Aventinus bello fuerit extinctus atque sepultus.” *Festus, in voc. ‘Aventinus.’* Arnold, in his *Roman History*, (*vol. i. p. 243*) gives a detailed account of the Icilian Law “de Aventino publicando.” We have already seen that Juno had a temple here, (*Livy, xxvii. 37.*) which must have stood towards the northern limit of the hill; and the temple of Diana must have been in the

same neighbourhood. (*Livy*, I. 45. *Silius Italicus*, XII. 713. *Martial*, *lib.* VI. LXIV. 12. VII. LXXII. 1. *Statius*, *Sylv.* II. III. 21.) Servius Tullius founded the temple of Diana, and Camillus that of Juno. (*Livy*, v. 23.) A temple of Liberty also stood on the Aventine. (*Livy*, XXIV. 16.) "Libertatis templum in Aventino fuerat constructum." *Festus*, in voc. 'Libertas.' The Aventine was the fabled haunt of Cacus. (*Virg. Æn.* VIII. 230, seq. *Ovid. Fast.* I. 551. *Livy*, I. 7.)

The Scalæ Gemoniæ may reasonably be placed at the edge of the Aventine Hill. They seem certainly to have been near the Tiber—"Nemo punitorum non et in Gemonias abjectus, uncoque tractus." *Sueton. Tiber.* 61.

'Sejanus ducitur unco

'Spectandus.' *Juvenal, Sat.* x. 66.

'Curramus præcipites, et

'Dum jacet in ripa calcemus Cæsaris hostem.'

*Ibid.* 85.

The Pyramid of Caius Cestius was probably built in the age of Augustus; it is the only pyramid known to have been erected in Rome: it is described by Burgess, *Vol.* II. p. 207; and Burton, *Antiquities of Rome*, p. 250.

The valley between the Aventine and the Circus Maximus was called Murcia. "Intumus Circus ad Murcia vocatur, ut Procilius aiebat ab urceis, quod is locus esset inter figulos; alii dicunt a murteto declinatum, quod ibi id fuerit; quouis vestigium manet, quod ibi Sacellum etiam nunc Murteæ Vene-

"ris." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 154. To the south of the Aventine Hill were the Baths of Caracalla.

The valley which ran along the lower side of the Cœlian Hill, on the west, was the famous valley of Egeria. (*Livy*, I. 21. *Juvenal*, III. 10. *seq.* *Ovid. Fast.* III. 261, *seq. Met.* xv. 547.) "In Suburanæ regionis parte princeps  
"est Cœlius mons, a Cœlio Vibenno Tusco duce nobili,  
"qui cum sua manu dicitur Romulo venisse auxilio  
"contra Tatium regem: hinc post Cœlii mortem, quod  
"nimis munita loca tenerent, neque sine suspicione  
"essent, deducti dicuntur in planum. Ab eis dictus  
"vicus Tuscus, et ideo ibi Vortumnus stare, quod is  
"deus Etruriæ princeps. De Cœlianis qui a suspicione  
"liberi essent, traductos in eum locum, qui vocatur  
"Cœliolus, cum Cœlio nunc conjunctum." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 46. "Cœlius mons dictus est a Cœle  
"quodam ex Etruria, qui Romulo auxilium adversus  
"Sabino præbuit, eo quod in eo domicilium habuit." *Festus, in voc. 'Cœlius.'* At the northern end of the Cœlian Hill are the ruins of the Vivarium, or menagerie, supposed to have been built by Domitian. Such a building would be very necessary, and be very well adapted by its position, to keep the wild beasts that were to be exhibited in the neighbouring Colosseum.

Vespasian built a temple to Claudius on the Cœlian Hill. "Fecit et nova opera, templum Pacis foro proximum; Divique Claudii in Cœlio monte, cœptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum." *Suetonius, Vespas.* 9. The Temple was destroyed by Nero, to make way for his enormous

buildings. The famous Lateran Church stands to the south of the Cœlian Hill; it occupies the site of the house of Plautius Lateranus, one of the conspirators against Nero. (*Juvenal, Sat. x. 15, seq.*) "Proximam necem Plantii Laterani Consulis designati Nero adjungit, adeo propere ut non complecti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permetteret." *Tacitus, Annal. xv. 60.* Constantine first built a Basilica on the site of the house of Lateranus, and the present splendid church occupies the same ground. In like manner Constantine appears to have built the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis on the site of the Sessorium. "Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus Basilicam in Palatio Sessoriano, ubi etiam de ligno sanctæ crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi posuit." *Anastasius, Bibliothec. de Vit. Pontif. Roman. § 41.*

In the valley between the Cœlian and Esquiline Hills stands the Flavian Amphitheatre, popularly called the Colosseum. "Secundæ regionis Exquilæ. Alii has scripsere ab excubiis Regis dictus: alii ab eo quod ex cultæ a rege Tullio essent: *alii ab æsculetis.*\* Huic origini magis concinunt loca vicini, quod ibi Lucus dicitur Facutalis et Larum et Querquetulanum Sacellum et Lucus Mefitis et Junonis Lucinæ: quorum angusti fines; non mirum; jam diu enim late avaritia nunc est. Exquilæ duo montes habiti, quod pars

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\* These words are a conjectural addition of Müller's, approved of by Bunsen. Müller also adds the words '*Oppius, pars,*' immediately below, and the addition seems necessary.

" *Oppius, pars\** Cespeus mons suo antiquo nomine etiam  
" nunc in sacris appellatur.

" In Sacris Argeorum scriptum est sic :

' Oppius mons, princeps Exquilis ouls lucum Facutalem ;  
' sinistra via secundum mœrum est.

' Oppius mons, terticeps cis lucum Exquilinum, dexterior  
' via in Tabernola est.

' Oppius mons, quarticeps cis lucum Exquilinum, via  
' dexterior in Figulinis est.

' Cespius mons, quinticeps cis lucum Pœtelium, ———  
' Exquilinis est.

' Cespius mons, sexticeps apud ædem Junonis Lucinæ,  
' ubi æditumus habere solet.' "

*Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 50.*

The same author thus describes " Argei." " Argei ab  
" Argis; Argei fiunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum  
" xxiv : ea quotannis de ponte Sublicio a sacerdotibus  
" publice deici solent in Tiberim." vii. 44. " Argeos  
" vocabant scirpeas effigies, quæ per Virgines Vestales  
" annis singulis jaciebantur in Tiberim." *Festus, in voc.*  
" *Argeos.*" (*Ovid. Fast. v. 621.*) Ovid speaks of the  
temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline. (*Fasti*, ii.  
435. iii. 245.) Before the age of Augustus, the  
Esquiline Hill was not inhabited by persons of rank.  
Much of the space beyond the Agger of Servius Tullius  
seems to have been used as a *fosse commune*; a burial  
ground for slaves, whose bodies had not been burnt :  
(*Hor. Sat. I. viii. 8, seq. Epod. v. 100.*) hence Horace  
applies the epithet " *atras*" to the Esquiline. (*Sat. II.*  
vi. 33.) Mæcenas however built himself a house on  
the western side of the hill : this he bequeathed to

Augustus. Suetonius says of Tiberius,—“*Romam re-  
versus, deducto in forum filio Druso, statim e Carinis  
ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Mæcenatianos  
transmigravit.*” *Ch.* 15. The house was inherited by  
Nero, who united it to his “golden house.” Tacitus  
says,—“*Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in  
urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus, qua Palatium  
et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinqua-  
ret.*” *Annal.* xv. 39. Titus subsequently built his  
Baths on the site of Mæcenat’s house. The gardens of  
Mæcenat must have extended beyond the walls of Servius  
Tullius. “*Sepulcra erant in hoc loco ubi nunc sunt  
horti Mæcenatis.*” *Schol. ad Hor. Sat. I. viii. 7.* This  
author adds “*et Thermæ Trajani,*” which is carelessly  
said ; for the Baths, which were in the city, could not  
have been built on that part of the gardens which had  
been used as a burial ground ; inasmuch as none but  
Vestal Virgins were allowed to be buried within the  
walls. Close to the Porta Esquilina stood the arch of  
Gallienus, now called the *Arco di S. Vito* : and near the  
Porta Tiburtina are some ruins, which are generally  
called the Temple of Minerva Medica ; but the propriety  
of the designation is by no means certain. To the west  
of the Porta Prænestina are the ruins of the *Amphi-  
theatrum Castrense*. An amphitheatre was a general  
appendage to a barrack, or fortified position ; and this  
amphitheatre was for the use of the famous Prætorian  
cohorts, whose barrack stood not far off, at the end of  
the Agger of Servius Tullius.

"Tertiæ regionis colles quinque ab dearum fanis appellati, e quibz nobiles duo colles. Viminalis a Jove  
 "Vimino, quod ibi aræ; sunt qui quod ibi vimineta  
 "fuerint. (*Juvenal*, III. 71.) Collis Quirinalis ob Quirini fanum; sunt qui a Quiritibus, qui cum Tatius  
 "Curibus venerunt Romam, quod ibi habuerint castra.  
 "Quod vocabulum conjunctarum regionum nomina  
 "obliteravit: dictos enim collis plureis apparet ex  
 "Argeorum sacrificiis, in quibus scriptum sic est:

'Collis Quirinalis terticeps cis aedem Quirini.

'Collis Salutaris, quarticeps, adversum est Apollinar, cis  
 'ædem Salutis.

'Collis Martialis, quinticeps apud ædem Dei Fidi in  
 'delubro, ubi æditumus habere solet.

'Collis Latiaris, sexticeps in vico Instelano summo, apud  
 'Auraculum [auguraculum, *Turnebus*] ædificium  
 'solum est.'

"Horum deorum aræ, a quibus cognomina habent,  
 "in ejus regionis partibus sunt." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.*  
 v. 51. "Agonium dies appellabatur quo rex hostiam  
 "immolabat: hostiam enim antiqui Agoniam vocabant.  
 (*Ovid. Fast.* I. 317—334. v. 721.) "Agonium etiam puta-  
 "bant Deum dici præidentem rebus agendis: Agonalia  
 "ejus festivitatem. Sive quia Agones dicebant montes,  
 "Agonia sacrificia, quæ fiebant in monte: hinc Romæ  
 "Mons Quirinalis Agonus, et Collina porta Agonensis."  
*Festus, in voc. 'Agonium.'* "Quirinalis collis dictus est,  
 "quia in eum commigrarunt Sabini a Curibus venientes,  
 "quamvis alii a templo Quirini dictum putant." *Id. in*  
*voc. 'Quirinalis Collis.'* Near the Porta Collina were the



**Baths of Diocletian.** It is probable that the Temples of Safety, Ceres, and Quirinus, were close to each other ; for Livy says they were all three struck at the same time by lightning. (*Livy*, xxviii. 11.) Dionysius says that Numa founded the worship and temple of Quirinus : *lib.* 11. 63—“ αὐτόν τε τὸν Ῥωμύλον, ὡς κρείττονα γένόμενον ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν, ἱεροῦ κατασκευῇ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις ἔταξε (*sc.* Numa) Κυρίνον ὀνομαζόμενον γεναίρεσθαι.”

He is very probably correct in his statement ; for the Sabines certainly occupied the Quirinal Hill, and the Arx on the Capitol was their citadel. Papirius rebuilt the temple of Quirinus, A. C. 293. (*Livy*, x. 46.) Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 60, says,—“ Princeps Romanis solarium “ horologium statuisset ante undecim annos, quam “ cum Pyrrho bellatum est, ad ædem Quirini L. Papirius Cursor, cum eam dedicaret, a patre suo votam, “ a Fabio Vestale proditur.”

Within the Porta Collina was the Campus Sceleratus, the place where Vestal Virgins, who had violated their vows, were buried alive. (*Livy*, viii. 15.) The famous gardens of Sallust stood outside the walls of Servius Tullius, to the left of the Porta Collina. Gibbon, in the 31st chapter of his History, has a passage respecting these gardens ; and Mr. Keightley, in the Preface to his edition of Sallust, (*p.* xviii.) has some acute and judicious remarks on the same subject. The gardens of Sallust first gave the name of Collis Hortulorum to the Pincian Hill, on which were also the gardens of Lucullus. The property of both shared the fate of the

generality of pleasure grounds distinguished for beauty, by falling into the hands of the Imperial family. Messalina died in the gardens of Lucullus. (*Tacitus, Annal.* xi. 37, 38.)

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## THE CAMPUS MARTIUS.

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We have already had occasion to specify in detail several of the buildings which ornamented the Campus Martius : it will be advisable to take a general view of the whole. The modern city of Rome principally occupies the ground of this famous plain ; and the ruins of ancient magnificence are hopelessly buried or disfigured beneath modern streets, churches, and palaces : but we must endeavour in imagination to place the Campus before our eyes, such as it was in the days of Rome's imperial greatness ; and we must, if possible, discard all thought or memory of what it is now.

On leaving the Porta Carmentalis, the Via Lata conducted to the Circus Flaminius. From a point near this began the Via Flaminia, which Augustus carried as far as Ariminum : "desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino "tenus munienda." *Suetonius, Octav.* 30. The modern

Corso is nearly identical with the ancient Via Flaminia, as far as the *Porta del Popolo*. Tombs must have adorned this road. (*Juvenal*, I. *extr.*) There is a famous monument also still standing at the foot of the north-eastern corner of the Capitoline Hill: it is the tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus; this must have been near the Porta Ratumena, to which the Via Lata may originally have led. The mausoleum of Augustus was the crowning monumental glory of the Campus; attached to it was a "bustum," or place for burning the bodies of the Julian family: Strabo states it was "in the middle" of the Campus,—*ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ ὁ τῆς καύστρας αὐτοῦ περιβολος, καὶ οὗτος λίθου λευκοῦ, κύκλῳ ἔχων μὲν περικείμενον σιδηροῦν περίφραγμα, ἐντὸς δὲ αἰγέλοις κατάφυτον.* *Lib. v. p. 336. Oxon. 1807.*

Nero was buried near the Via Flaminia; for Suetonius, in his life of that emperor, says,—*"Reliquias Ecloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monumento condiderunt, quod prospicitur e Campo Martio impositum colli hortorum."* *Ch. 50.* On the left of the Porta Carmentalis was the Forum Olitorium, in which stood a Temple of Hope, (*Livy*, *xxi. 62*; *xxiv. 47.*) and one to filial affection—*Pietas*. *"Statuam auratam nec in urbe, nec in ulla parte Italiæ, quisquam prius aspexit quam a M. Acilio Glabione equestris patri poneretur in æde Pietatis."* *Valerius Maximus*, II. v. 1; who tells the story, in commemoration of which the temple was raised, *Lib. V. ch. iv. 7.* Pliny, after telling the same story, says,—*"Et locus ille eidem consecratus Deæ, Caio Quinctio, M'. Acilio*

"Coss. templo Pietatis exstructo in illius carceris sede  
"ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est." *N. H.* vii. 36.\*

In the neighbourhood of the Porta Carmentalis, as we have already seen, was a Janus, and a Temple of Bellona: here was the column also dedicated to this goddess, from which the spear was hurled, on the breaking out of war. (*Ovid. Fast.* vi. 199—208.) The theatre of Marcellus and Porticus Octaviæ have already been referred to. Between the Forum Olitorium and the Circus Flaminius, stood a Temple of Apollo. (*Livy*, iii. 63; xxvii. 37.) The ground occupied by the Circus Flaminius was originally called "Prata Flaminia." (*Livy*, iii. 54.) "Circus Flaminius dicitur, qui circum ædificatus est Flaminium campum, et quod ibi quoque ludis Tauris equi circum metas currunt." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 154. Some think, however, that the Circus gained its name from the unfortunate Consul who fell at Thrasymene, and who built it when Censor. The Via Flaminia was commenced the same year with the Circus, A. C. 220. L. Æmilius Papus was the colleague of Flaminius. Festus says,—“Flaminus Circus et Via Flaminia a Flaminio consule dicta sunt, qui ab Hannibale interfectus est ad lacum Trasimenum :” *in voc. ‘Flaminius.’* Hercules was the tutelary god of the Circus. (*Ovid. Fast.* vi. 209.)

In the year A. C. 52, Pompey erected the first stone theatre at Rome; before that time, only temporary buildings had been used for dramatic exhibitions:

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\* Titus (not Caius) Quinctius Flamininus and M' Acilius Balbus were Consuls, A. C. 150, according to the *Fasti Consulares*. But *Livy* says (xi. 34) that the temple was dedicated A. C. 181. M' Acilius Glabrio was Consul A. C. 191. It was his son that dedicated the temple.

Pompey added a Curia, the same in which Cæsar was assassinated ; and a Temple to Venus Victrix.

Concerning the inscription to be placed over this temple, a grammatical discussion arose, as to whether the third consulate of Pompey should be expressed by *COS · TERTIUM*, or, *TERTIO*. Cicero, perhaps rather characteristically, avoided the difficulty, by suggesting *COS · TERT*. “Cum Pompeius ædem Victoriæ dedicaturus foret, cujus gradus vicem theatri essent, nomenque ejus et honores inscriberentur, quæri cœptum est, “utrum consul ‘tertio’ inscribendum esset, an ‘tertium.’” *Aulus Gellius, noct. Att. x. 1* ; quoting the words of Tiro, Cicero’s freedman. The theatre was much damaged by fire ; it was partially restored by Tiberius and Caligula, and finally by Claudius. “Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit (Claudius,) cum prius apud superiores ædes supplicasset, perque mediam caveam, sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis descendisset.” *Suetonius, Claud. 21* ; who nevertheless says of Caligula,—“Opera sub Tiberio imperfecta, templum Augusti, theatrumque Pompeii, absolvit.” *Calig. 21*.

The seats of the theatre must have led to the temple, —an arrangement which explains the expression “superiores ædes.” A Basilica must also have been attached to the temple and theatre. “Pompeii quoque statuam, contra theatri ejus Regiam, marmoreo Jano superposuit (Augustus,) translata e Curia, in qua C. Cæsar fuerat occisus.” *Suetonius, Octav. 31*.

Cornelius Balbus, A. C. 12, built a theatre at no great distance from that of Pompey. Suetonius, in speaking of the public works executed by private persons in the reign of Augustus, enumerates,—“A Cornelio Balbo theatrum; a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum; a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia;” *Ch.* 29. And in the same chapter he says that Augustus himself built “porticus Liviae et Octaviae, theatrumque Marcelli.” The theatres of Balbus, Marcellus, and Pompey, were the three great theatres at Rome; hence Suetonius has the expression—“per trina theatra virgis caesum,” *Octav.* 45. (*Ovid. Trist.* III. XII. 24. *Art. Amat.* III. 394.)

The Pantheon of Agrippa still stands, though shorn of the greater part of its magnificence, to attest its position. (*Hor. Epist.* I. vi. 26.) Agrippa also built baths close by; and the Aqua Virgo supplied them with water. The Temple of Isis stood near the Septa; this last building is called by Livy and Juvenal “*ovile*” (*Livy*, XXVI. 22. *Juvenal*, VI. 528): it was enlarged and raised to great splendour by Agrippa, who called it Julia. “(Augustus) munera non in Foro modo, nec “Amphitheatro (Statilii Tauri), sed in Circo, et in “Septis....edidit.” *Suetonius, Octav.* 43.

Statilius Taurus built the first permanent amphitheatre at Rome; it was burnt down in the reign of Nero, and never rebuilt; probably the external walls only were of stone, the seats, and other parts of the interior being of wood: its site is now occupied by the *Monte Citorio*.

The Circus Alexandri, or Agonalis, was built by Alexander Severus. The modern *Piazza Navona* stands upon its site.

Close to the Tiber stood the splendid Mausoleum of Augustus, built by him A.C. 27. It is described by Strabo, *lib.* v. Marcellus was buried there, as we learn from Virgil's famous lines. (*Æn.* vi. 873, *seq.*)

A Temple of Juturna stood somewhere close to the Aqua Virgo. (*Ovid. Fast.* i. 463.)

The Via Flaminia, as we have already seen, was adorned by triumphal arches. Augustus also embellished it by two obelisks, which he brought from Helopolis in Egypt: one of them now stands in the *Piazza del Popolo*, and the other on the *Monte Citorio*.

Near the Mausoleum of Augustus were the Navalía. Becker somewhat fancifully conjectures that the name *Piazza Navona* bears testimony to the neighbourhood of the Navalía.\*

On the southern side of the Pons Ælius stands the triumphal arch of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valerian. On the opposite bank is Hadrian's Mausoleum; *hodie*, the Castle of St. Angelo.

An *Ara Martis* is mentioned by Livy (xxxv. 10; xl. 45) as standing in the Campus Martius.

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\* The word *Navona* is, rather, a corruption of *Nagona*; and so it is in fact spelt by J. Laurus; and *Nagona* is evidently only an altered form of *Agone*.

## THE AQUEDUCTS AND BRIDGES.

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The most ancient Roman aqueduct was that called Aqua Appia; it was constructed A. C. 310, by Appius Claudius Cæcus, the Censor (*Livy*, ix. 29,) the same person who commenced the Via Appia: before this time, the inhabitants of Rome used the waters of the Tiber, cisterns, wells, and fountains. The Aqua Appia was rather more than 11 miles in length: it began near Tusculum. It was subterranean, until it approached the Porta Capena, over which it was carried on arches; (*Juvenal*, iii. 11.) it ended at the Salinæ, near the Porta Trigemina, and must have supplied the Aventine Hill: no traces of it are left.

Thirty-eight years afterwards, A. C. 272, a second aqueduct was made by M'. Curius Dentatus, then Censor: it was called the Anio Vetus: it began above Tibur, at a distance of 20 miles from Rome: it took a winding course of 43 miles: all but 221 paces of this aqueduct was subterranean; its channel may still be seen near the *Porta Maggiore*.

The water of this aqueduct, however, was found to be of bad quality; and A. C. 179, Q. Marcius Rex, the Prætor, was ordered by the Senate to construct a new one: this was brought from Sublaqueum, *hodie*, *Subiaco*;



it was 60 miles 710 paces long ; 54 miles, 247 paces, were subterraneous, the remainder ran on arches : it was of such elevation, that water could be supplied by it to the highest part of the Capitoline Hill : it was called the Aqua Marcia ; its water was excellent. (*Propert.* III. II. 12. *Tibull.* III. vi. 58.) Pliny thus speaks of it, — “Clarissima aquarum omnium in toto orbe, frigoris “salubritatisque palma præconio Urbis, Marcia est, “inter reliqua Deum munere Urbi tributa. Vocabatur “hæc quondam Aufeia (*al.* Saufeia,) fons autem ipse “Pitonia. Oritur in ultimis montibus Pelignorum : “transit Marsos et Fucinum Lacum, Romam non dubie “petens. Mox in specus mersa, in Tiburtina se aperit “novem millibus passuum fornicibus structis perducta. “Primus eam in urbem inducere auspicatus est Ancus “Marcius, unus e regibus. Postea Q. Marcius Rex in “prætura. Rursusque restituit M. Agrippa.” *N. H.* XXXI. III. 24.

In the year A. C. 125, the Censors, Cn. Servilius Cæpio and L. Cassius Longinus, constructed the aqueduct called Tepula ; it began in the Tusculan territory : it ran into Rome on the same arches with the Marcian aqueduct, its channel (*specus*) lying above that of the Marcia.

In the year A. C. 35, Agrippa, being then Ædile, repaired the Anio Vetus, and Aqua Marcia ; to the last of which he added the Aqua Julia. This took its rise about two miles beyond the source of the Aqua Tepula ; its length was fifteen miles 427 paces : it joined the Aqua Marcia, so that the channels of three aqueducts

ran upon the same arches: the Julia was the highest, and the Marcia the lowest. Near the Esquiline Gate are the ruins of a Castellum Aquæ, or reservoir; popularly, but erroneously, called the "Trophies of Marius:" it must have been the receptacle of the waters of several aqueducts. Vast and imposing ruins of the Aqua Marcia still remain: it entered Rome at the Porta Tiburtina; or rather we should say that the walls of Aurelian crossed the aqueduct at the point where the Porta Tiburtina was built.

Agrippa also, A. C. 19, built the aqueduct called Aqua Virgo. Frontinus says it was so called, because when some of Agrippa's soldiers were distressed for water, a girl pointed out the spring to them, which was made the source of the aqueduct. "Virgo appellata, quod quærentibus aquam militibus puella virguncula quasdam venas monstravit, quas secuti qui foderunt ingentem aquæ modum invenerunt." *Lib. 1.* Pliny, however, gives a different derivation; he says,—"Idem (Agrippa) et Virginem adduxit ab octavi lapidis diverticulo duobus millibus passuum Prænestina via. Juxta est Herculaneus rivus, *quam refugiens Virginis nomen obtinuit.*" *N. H. XXXI. III. 25.* Its length was more than 14 miles; only a mile and a quarter was built on arches, which however were adorned with statues and columns. It entered Rome subterraneously, near the Porta Pinciana, and its reservoir was in the neighbourhood of Agrippa's baths: it still exists entire, having been restored by Popes Nicholas V, and Pius IV.: it is called *Acqua Vergine*, and supplies the famous fountain of Trevi.

Augustus built the aqueduct called Alsietina, or Augusta: it took its rise from the lake Alsietinus, 14 miles from Rome, but its windings increased that distance to rather more than 22 miles: it was arched for not more than 358 paces: it entered the Janiculum near the Porta Aurelia. Trajan introduced a new stream into it from the Lacus Sabbatinus, now the *Lago Bracciano*; and the aqueduct was subsequently called Sabbatina: it still exists under the name of *Acqua Paola*, and supplies the fountains of St. Peter's and the Vatican. It is supposed by some writers, that the water of this aqueduct was unfit for drinking, and that it was intended to supply the Naumachia of Augustus. (*Smith's Dict. of Antiquities*, p. 65.) The aqueduct was certainly not carried over the Tiber, and the Naumachia must therefore be placed on the *right* bank of the river. Tacitus apparently says, that the Naumachia of Augustus was on the *left*. "Sub idem tempus (A. D. 53) inter lacum Fucinum amnemque Lirim, perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis a pluribus viseretur, lacu in ipso navale prælium adornatur; ut quondam Augustus, *structo cis Tiberim stagno*, sed levibus navigiis, et minore copia ediderat." *Annal.* xii. 56. The Monumentum Ancyranum has the following:—"Navalis prælii spectaculum populo dedi *trans Tiberim* in quo loco nunc nemus est Cæsarum cavato solo." These words are partly quoted by Suetonius, in his life of Augustus, *Ch.* 43:—"Item navale prælium (edidit) circa Tiberim cavato solo; in quo nunc Cæsarum

"nemus est." Frontinus says,—“Quæ ratio moverit Augustum, providentissimum Principem, producendi Alsietinam aquam, quæ vocatur Augusta, non satis perspicio, nullius gratiæ, immo et parum salubrem et nusquam in usus populi fluentem, nisi forte cum opus Naumachiæ aggrediretur, ne quid salubrioribus aquis detraheret, hanc proprio opere perduxit, et quod Naumachiæ cœperat superesse, hortis subjacentibus et privatorum usibus ad irrigandum concessit.” *Lib. i.*

There can be no reasonable doubt, that Tacitus means the Naumachia of Augustus, by the word “*stagnum*,” and his statement is certainly erroneous.\*

The pleasure-grounds of Julius Cæsar were unquestionably on the *right* bank of the Tiber. (*Hor. Sat. I. ix. 18.*) “Populo hortos circa Tiberim publice, et viritim trecentos sestertios legavit.” *Suetonius, Julius, 83.*

Caligula began the great Claudian aqueduct, A. D. 38; it was finished by his successor, A. D. 51: it crossed the walls of Aurelian at the Porta Prænestina: it was 46 miles, 406 paces, long, of which, 10 miles, 200 paces, ran on arches: it sprang from two fountains, at about 38 miles distance from Rome. Into this aqueduct Pope Sixtus V. conveyed his *Acqua Felice*, at about 14 miles from the city. The Aqua Claudia forms one of the most striking objects that still survive, as witnesses of the wonderful power and majesty of ancient Rome. Nero conveyed a portion of this aqueduct on arches, of

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\* See Note on the “Naumachia of Augustus,” p. 109.

which there are still some remains, across the Cœlian Hill, to his "golden house."

Claudius also built the aqueduct called Anio Novus : it began at the forty-second mile stone, on the Via Sublacensis : it was a portion of the river Anio ; and a streamlet, called Herculaneus, was added to it in its course. It was 62 miles in length, of which almost 14 ran on arches ; it entered Rome at the Porta Prænestina, where its "specus" may still be seen. "Claudiæ aquæ gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Cæruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudino nomen est, simulque rivum Anienis novi lapideo opere in Urbem perduxit (Claudius,) divisitque in plurimos et ornatissimos lacus." *Sueton. Claud.* 20. The Anio Novus was the loftiest of the aqueducts ; the next in height was the Claudia ; 3rd. Julia ; 4th. Tepula ; 5th. Marcia ; 6th. Anio Vetus ; 7th. Virgo ; 8th. Appia ; 9th. Alsietina.

Trajan added a branch to the Anio Novus, A.D. 111 ; he brought it from Sublaqueum, where he found a spring of purer water than that of the Anio : this branch was called Aqua Trajana.

Sextus Julius Frontinus had the superintendence of all the aqueducts entrusted to him by Nerva and Trajan ; and it is from his treatise "*De Aquæductibus*," that our information respecting these astonishing works is principally derived.

The Aqua Alexandrina, built A. D. 230, was the last of any importance : remains of it are still to be seen on the Via Prænestina.

The Antoniana was constructed A. D. 212, and the Jovia, A. D. 300 ; but these and others were probably only branches of some of the greater aqueducts. The Aqua Crabra was not an aqueduct, but a small stream, which entered Rome at the Porta Metronia, and passed through the Circus Maximus ; it was probably carried subterraneously into the Tiber : it rose in the neighbourhood of Tusculum. “De Crabra quid agatur, etsi  
“nunc quidem etiam nimium est aquæ, tamen velim  
“scire.” *Cicero, Epist. ad Fam.* xvi. 18. “Ego Tusculanis pro aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia mancipio  
“fundum accepi.” *Id. de Leg. Agrar.* iii. 2.

Pliny has the following passage on the subject of aqueducts :—“Sed dicantur vera æstimatione invicta  
“miracula, quæ Q. Marcius Rex fecit. Is jussus a  
“senatu aquarum, Appiæ, Anienis, Tepulæ,\* ductus  
“reficere, novam a nomine suo appellatam cuniculis per  
“montes actis intra præturæ suæ tempus adduxit.  
“Agrippa vero in ædilitate sua, adjecta Virgine aqua,  
“cæteris corrivatis atque emendatis, lacus (*Hor. Sat.*  
“I. iv. 37) septingentos fecit : præterea salientes centum  
“sex : castella centum triginta, complura etiam  
“cultu magnifica : operibus iis signa trecenta ærea aut  
“marmorea imposuit, columnas ex marmore quadringentas, eaque omnia annuo spatio. Adjecit ipse in  
“ædilitatis suæ commemoratione, et ludos undesextinginta diebus factos, et gratuita præbita balinea centum

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\* Pliny is certainly in error here ; for the Tepula was not constructed, as we have seen, till more than 50 years after.

“septuaginta, quæ nunc Romæ ad infinitum auxere  
 “numerum. Vicit antecedentes aquarum ductus no-  
 “vissimum impendium operis. inchoati a Caio Cæsare,  
 “et peracti a Claudio. Quippe a lapide quadragesimo  
 “ad eam excelsitatem, ut in omnes Urbis montes leva-  
 “rentur, influxere Curtius atque Cæruleus fontes, et  
 “Anio novus. Erogatum in id opus sestertium quin-  
 “quagies, quinquies, et quingenties centena millia.  
 “Quod si quis diligentius æstimaverit aquarum abun-  
 “dantiam in publico, balineis, piscinis, domibus, Euripis,  
 “hortis, suburbanis villis, spatique advenientis ex-  
 “structos arcus, montes perfossos, convalles æquatas,  
 “fatebitur nihil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe  
 “terrarum. Ejusdem Claudii inter maxime memoranda  
 “equidem duxerim, quamvis destitutum successoris odio,  
 “montem perfossum ad Lacum Fucinum emittendum,  
 “inenarrabili profecto impendio, et operarum multitu-  
 “dine per tot annos; cum aut corrivatio aquarum, qua  
 “terrenus mons erat, egereretur in vertice machinis,  
 “aut silex cæderetur, omniaque intus in tenebris fie-  
 “rent, quæ neque concipi animo, nisi ab iis qui videre,  
 “neque humano sermone enarrari possunt.” *N. H.*  
*XXXVI. xv. 24.*

At the distance of two miles from Rome, the Via  
 Flaminia crossed the Tiber by the Pons Mulvius, *hodie*,  
 the *Ponte Molle*. “Marcus Æmilius Scaurus Censor  
 “viam Æmiliam stravit; pontem Mulvium fecit.” *Aure-*  
*lius Victor de Vir. Illustr. 72. (Statius, Sylv. II. 1. 176.)*  
 It was the scene of Cicero’s ambushcade against the  
 deputies of the Allobroges. (*Cicero, in Catilin. III.*) Here

it was also that Constantine defeated Maxentius. The bridge was built, A. C. 109. It is sometimes called Milvius, which may be a corruption of Æmilius: Pope Nicholas V. entirely rebuilt it, A. D. 1450.

The Pons Ælius, now the *Ponte St. Angelo*, was built by Hadrian, as an approach to his Mausoleum: the bridge fell down in 1450, and was rebuilt by Pope Nicholas V.

The Pons Vaticanus stood about 300 paces lower down the stream than the Pons Ælius: only its foundations are now visible, and *they* can only be discovered when the river is low.

Pope Sixtus IV. built the present *Ponte Xysto*, on the ruins of the Pons Janiculensis, of which Trajan was probably the builder.

The Pons Fabricius, now the *Ponte di Quattro Capi*, led from the Campus Martius to the island in the Tiber; and the Pons Cestius, now the *Ponte Cestio*, or, *S. Bartolomeo*, led from the opposite side of the island to the Janiculum.

Livy gives an account of the popular opinion respecting the origin of the island, (II. 5) which was dedicated to Æsculapius: this god had a temple there; the story of its erection is well-known. (*Livy*, x. 47.) There was a temple of Jupiter built by L. Furius Purpureo, A. C. 194, (*Livy*, xxxiv. 53) and one of Faunus, (*Ovid. Fast.* II. 193. *Livy*, xxxiii. 42) built by the Ædiles Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Scribonius.

The Pons Fabricius (*Hor. Sat.* II. III. 36) was built A. C. 60, by L. Fabricius, inspector of roads. Some



parts of the original inscription on the bridge are still visible ; it was as follows :

L · FABRICIVS · C · F · CVR · VIAR · FACIVNDVM

COERAVIT · IDEMQ · PROBAVIT

Q · LEPIDVS · M · F · M · LOLLIVS · M · F · COS

S · C · PROBAVERVNT.

These persons were Consuls, A. C. 21, a year very distinctly marked by Horace, (*Epist.* I. xx. 27.)

The Pons Cestius may have been built by the same person to whose memory the pyramid was raised, or by some member of his family. There can be no doubt that no private person would have been allowed to give his name to a bridge, at any period after the reign of Augustus.

The next bridge is now called the *Ponte Rotto*, from its broken condition ; it has repeatedly fallen, and been repeatedly rebuilt : it was called the *Ponte di S. Maria* in the middle ages. From an inscription which formerly existed on it, we learn that Augustus repaired it :

DIVVS · AVG · PONT · MAX · EX · S · C

REFECIT.

It has been called the Pons Palatinus, on authority that is doubtful ; Senatorius, on other authority still less satisfactory : there *is* authority, however, in works of a late period, for calling it “lapideus.” (*Vid. Becker, de Mur. p.* 80, *note.*) Servius says of Porsenna,—“Cum per Sublicium pontem, hoc est ligneum, qui modo lapideus dicitur, transire conaretur.” *Ad Æn.* VIII. 646.

This passage might seem to state that a stone bridge had been built on the site of the Pons Sublicius. But we know from Pliny that this was not done:—"Cyzici  
 "et βουλευτήριον vocant ædificium amplum, sine ferreo  
 "clavo, ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes  
 "sine fulturis, ac reponantur. Quod item Romæ in  
 "ponte Sublicio religiosum est, posteaquam Coclite  
 "Horatio defendente ægre revulsus est." *N.H.* XXXVI.  
 xv. 23. And Plutarch, in his life of Numa, corroborates  
 this;—"οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν ἀλλ' ἐπάρατον ἡγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαί-  
 "ους τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας. λέγεται δὲ  
 "καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ἄνευ σιδήρου κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον συγ-  
 "γεγομφῶσθαι διὰ τῶν ξύλων. ἡ δὲ λιθίνη πολλοῖς  
 "ὕστερον ἐξεργάσθη χρόνοις ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου ταμειύοντος.\*  
 "οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ξυλίνην τῶν Νομᾶ χρόνων ἀπο-  
 "λείπεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μαρκίου τοῦ Νομᾶ θυγατρι-  
 "δοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν." *Ch.* 9. Ovid  
 speaks of the bridge, as still being of wood in his time.  
 (*Fast.* v. 622.) Very probably however it fell into  
 decay, and one of stone may have been built in its  
 neighbourhood, for the accommodation, possibly for the  
 safe transit, of an increasing population. It is only  
 reasonable to suppose that, in the age of Servius, the  
 Pons Sublicius had become ruinous and impassable;  
 and so the expression, "qui modo lapideus dicitur,"  
 may be understood to mean, not that the Pons Sub-

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\* ταμειύοντος, i. e. *questoris*. But a *questor* never was commis-  
 sioned to build a bridge; and Becker therefore wishes to read *τιμη-*  
*τεύοντος*, i. e. *censoris*. Becker's criticism on this passage (*de Mur.* p.  
 79. *note*) should by all means be consulted.

licius had changed its name, but that a stone bridge had succeeded to it, and was, as it were, substituted in its place. Since there were several bridges at Rome, built of stone, there must have been some good reason for calling one *the* stone bridge: now, if it was built in the place of a *wooden* one, we *have* a sufficient reason for the name.

It is unnecessary to say much more about the famous Pons Sublicius. We have already seen that it must have stood at some point between the gates Flumentana and Trigemina, probably at no great distance below the *Ponte Rotto*. Festus gives us the etymology of the word Sublicius:—"Sublicium pontem quidam putant "appellatum esse a sublicis, peculiari nomine Volscorum, quo appellant tigna in latitudinem extensa;" *p.* 293. "Sacerdotes universi a sacris dicti. Pontifices, "ut Scævola Quintus Pontufex Maxumus dicebat, a "posse et facere, ut *potifices*: ego a ponte arbitror; "nam ab his Sublicius est factus primum, ut restitutus "sæpe, quom in eo sacra et uls et cis Tiberim non "mediocri ritu fiant." *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* v. 83.

At no great distance from the site of the Porta Trigemina some vestiges of a bridge may still be discovered: this was probably the Pons Æmilius. (*Juvenal*, vi. 32.) Livy tells us, (xl. 51) that in the censorship of M. Fulvius Nobilior, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, A. C. 179, a bridge was commenced by Fulvius, which was finished in the censorship of Scipio Africanus, and L. Mummius, A. C. 142: and Scipio, we must remember, was of the

**Æmilian gens.** It is very possible therefore, that the same thing may have happened respecting this bridge, which occurred in the case of the Basilica Æmilia; for that building was originally called Fulvia, but subsequently went by the name of Æmilia. Livy also states, that Fulvius built a basin, or quay—*portum*, at the same time that he commenced the bridge. The “Emporium,” we know, was close to the Porta Trigemina; and there could be no fitter place for such a work, than the immediate neighbourhood of that spot, where we suppose the Pons Æmilius to have stood.

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*Note on the "Naumachia of Augustus,"*

*Referred to at Page 100.*

Zumpt (*Commentarius in Monumentum Ancyranum*, pp. 77, 78) is induced, by the authority of Tacitus, to express great doubt as to the position of the Naumachia of Augustus.

If it was not where I have placed it in the Map, it must have been somewhere in the Campus Martius; for it was certainly on the banks of the Tiber, and in the vicinity—or in the midst—of the pleasure-grounds called those of the Cæsars.

Let me produce a passage out of Suetonius, to show the improbability of its having been in the Campus Martius. That writer says, that Tiberius, during his retirement at Caprææ, "*Bis omnino toto secessus tempore, Romam redire conatus, semel triremi usque ad proximos Naumachiæ hortos subvectus est: disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quæ obviam prodeuntes submoveret. Iterum Appia, usque ad septimum lapidem, sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis mœnibus, rediit.*" (c. 72.)

Now is it credible that Tiberius, whose fears would not allow him to approach nearer than seven miles from Rome, should have visited the Naumachia, if that reservoir was any where in the Campus Martius? A glance at the map will show the unreasonableness of such a supposition.

Again: Suetonius says, that when Augustus exhibited a mock sea-fight in his Naumachia, he placed guards in the city, being apprehensive that it might be plundered, in consequence of

being deserted by the population :—" Quibus diebus custodes  
 "in urbe disposuit, ne raritate remanentium grassatoribus  
 "obnoxia esset." But this precaution could hardly have  
 been necessary, if the Naumachia had been in the Campus  
 Martius.

Statius has an important passage, quoted by Zumpt himself,  
 bearing on the point. He thus addresses the poem he is  
 writing :—

"Atque ubi Romuleas velox penetraveris arces,  
 "Continuo *dexter* flavi pete *Tybridis* oras,  
 "Lydia qua penitus stagnum navale coercet  
 "Ripa, suburbanisque vadum prætexitur hortis."

*Sylv.* IV. iv. 4.

Surely testimony cannot be more explicit. Yet Zumpt says,  
 "Quid impedit, quominus de Domitiani Naumachia intelliga-  
 "tur?" But if Statius had not meant the Naumachia of  
 Augustus, it is hardly credible that he would have used such  
 language. Had he meant some other Naumachia, his descrip-  
 tion would have been more definite and particular.

Then comes the testimony of Frontinus, on which Zumpt  
 says :—"Frontinus suspicatur aquam Alsietinam, quam con-  
 "stat Transtiberinam fuisse, ab Augusto ideo perductam esse,  
 "ne quid in opere Naumachis salubrioribus aquis detra-  
 "heret, nequaquam dicit Naumachiam ipsam fuisse Trans-  
 "tiberinam. *Ut enim reliquæ aquæ per Tiberim pontibus*  
*"transducebantur, item poterat Alsietina."* (p. 78.) I do  
 not know what Zumpt's authority is for the statement, that  
 "aqueducts were carried over the Tiber;" nor can I think  
 such a thing was ever done. There is no reason to believe  
 that the Castellum of the Aqua Alsietina has ever been  
 altered since the days of Augustus. Frontinus might be  
 wrong in his conjecture, that the water of this aqueduct was

originally meant for the supply of the Naumachia ; though his judgment in such a matter is entitled to the highest consideration ; but it is impossible to grant Zumpt's hypothesis, that the Aqua Alsietina *might have been carried across the Tiber*. Such a theory has absolutely no ground of presumptive probability to rest on.

Zumpt finally has to deal with the words in the *Marmor Ancyranum*,—"Navalis proeli spectaculum dedi *trans Tiberim*." It must be admitted that these words do not occur in the oldest copies of the inscription. Busbequius discovered the inscription, when he was ambassador at Constantinople, and published it at Antwerp in 1579. The words are imperfect at this place in his copy. They run thus—SPECTACULUM POPUL . . . . . LIBERUM. The inscription was next copied by Cossonius, a Dutch Vice-Consul at Smyrna. This copy was published by Gronovius at Leyden in 1695. It has the passage thus:—SPECTACULUM · POPULO · DEDI . . . IN · QUO · LOCO. Gronovius at the same time republished the inscription as given by Busbequius, and added a copy of his own,—"*ad fidem utriusque exemplaris restitutum*." In this "restored" copy, he prints the passage thus:—"Spectaculum populo dedi *circa Tiberim*, in quo loco." These three copies of the Inscription are given by Pitiscus, in the second volume of his *Suetonius*, (p. 1138, *seq.*)

The inscription was again, and more accurately, copied by Tournefort, and reprinted by Chishull, *London*, 1728. This copy has the passage thus:—SPECTACULUM · POPULO · DEDI · TRANS · TIBERIM. But Zumpt, if refuted, is at all events not satisfied. He is ready with an objection:—"Hoc *enim prope certe intelligo*" (says he) "in Tournefortiano *exemplo non fuisse trans*, sed sic expletum esse Chishull;

"ingenio ; *ans* enim, quod apud Lucam est, facile poterat  
 "oriri aut ex eo, quod scriptum erat *cis*, aut ex *circa*." (p. 78.)

This "Lucas" to whom he refers, was one Paul Lucas, who published a copy of the Inscription, in his "*Voyages dans la Grèce, L'Asie Mineure, La Macedonie, et L'Afrique*." Amsterdam, 1717.

If Chishull falsified the Inscription as given by Tournefort, no weight can be attributed to the passage : but, if he did *not*, and it rests with Zumpt to substantiate, or at all events to give some colourable reason for charging him with such a fraud, the passage must be regarded as most important in fixing the position of the Naumachia of Augustus on the right bank of the Tiber.

It must be admitted, that all which has been said does not account for the opposing statement in Tacitus. But Brotier, in a note on the passage, has a remark, which seems worthy of attention :—"Cur Tacitus scripserit *cis Tiberim*, haud video, "*nisi forte in XIV. Urbis Regione (i. e. Transtiberina) ipse vixerit.*"

THE END.



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